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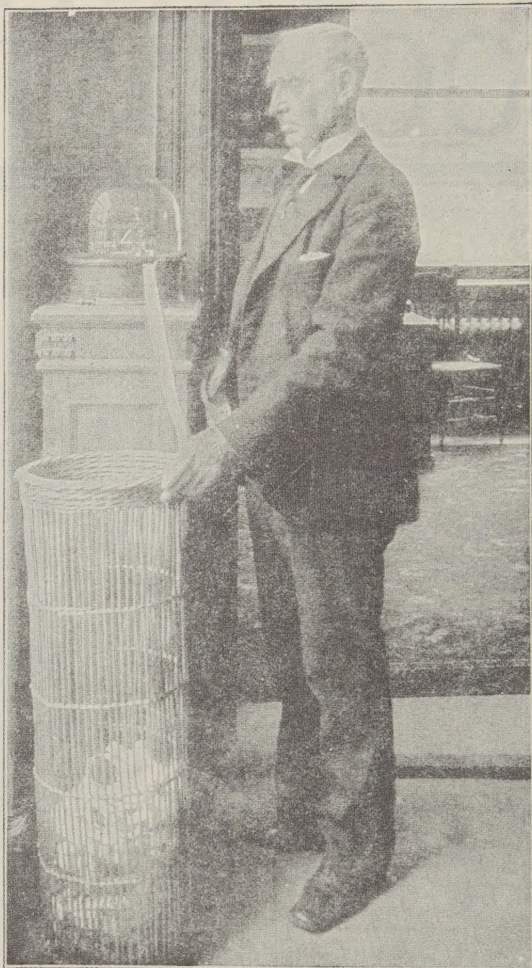
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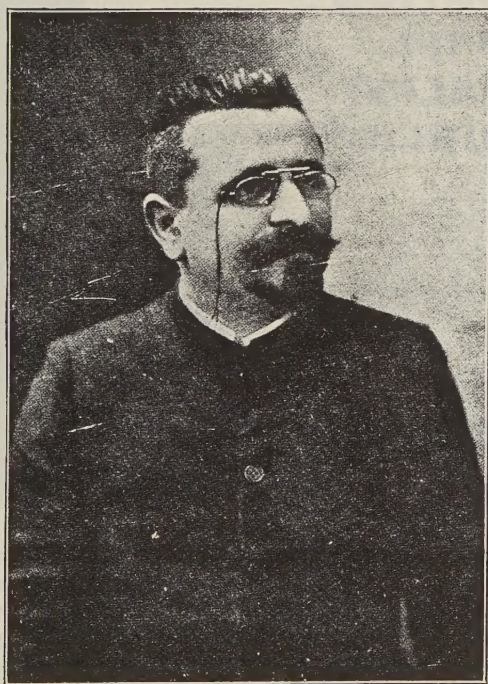
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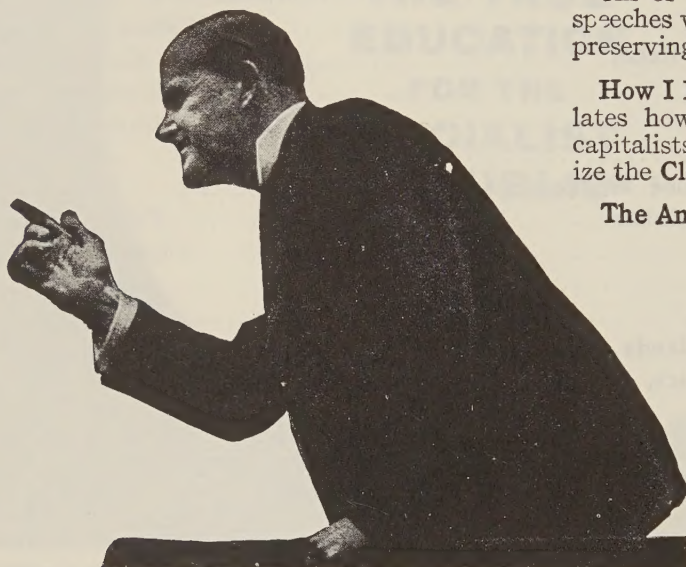
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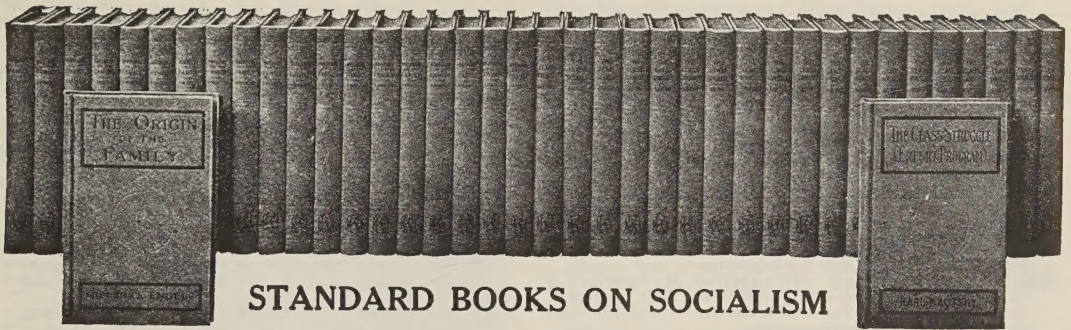
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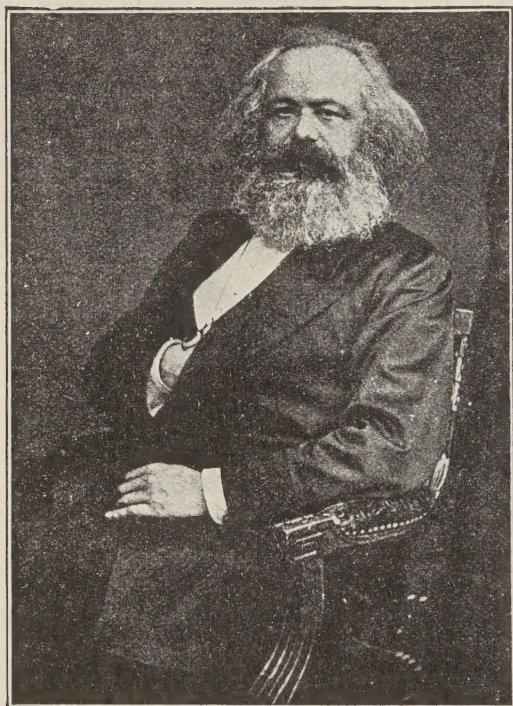
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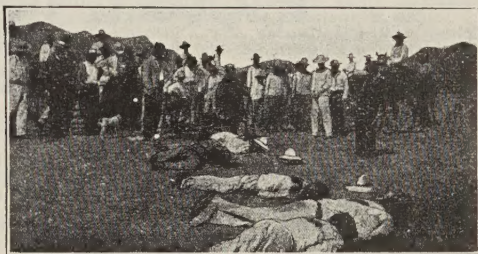
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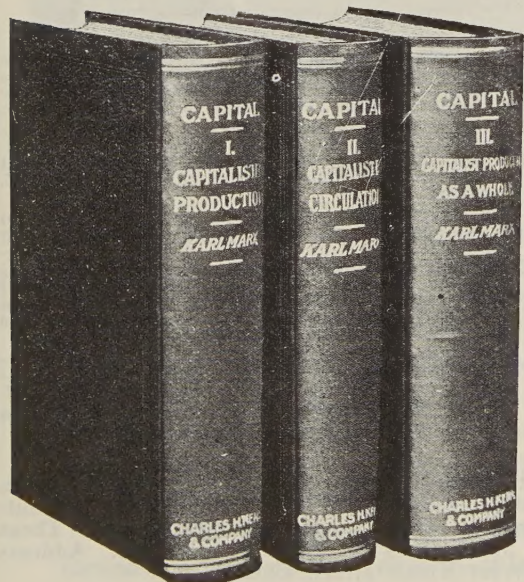
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WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

Proclamation by the National Executive Committee of the
Socialist Party of America



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U. S. SOLDIERS AT FORT MONROE, VA.—WAITING TO SAIL TO TEXAS.

ON THE 7th day of March the startling news was flashed from one end of the country to the other that President Taft had ordered twenty thousand troops, one fourth of the regular army of the country, to be mobilized and hurried to the Mexican border. At the same time several American warships were ordered to proceed at full speed to ports on both coasts of Mexico.

The order was issued immediately after the adjournment of Congress. It was sudden and unexpected, and caused deep apprehension among the masses of the American people.

What is the object of this formidable military display? What is the meaning of this hurried movement of troops toward a friendly neighboring country?

The earlier explanation that the extraordinary measure was intended as a mere war game, was so clumsy and palpably insincere that it was speedily abandoned and the semi-official explanation now vouchsafed to the people is that our army and navy are to prevent the smuggling of arms to the Mexican insurrectionists and, in case of emergency, to protect the endangered American interests. The explanation is such as to cause every peace and liberty loving American to hang his head with shame.

The people of our sister state of Mexico are in open and active revolt against their government. During his uninterrupted rule of thirty-six years Porfirio Diaz, the nominal president of Mexico, has been the evil genius of his country. He has reduced the republic to a despotism more barbarous than Russia, and has constituted himself the absolute autocrat of his people. He has ruthlessly destroyed the freedom of suffrage, speech, press and assembly, and has exiled, imprisoned and assassinated all patriots who strove to restore the liberties of the people. He has ravaged the country, plundered its resources and enslaved millions of its inhabitants. Since 1875, when Diaz became military dictator of Mexico, there has not been a single free and honest election in the country.

Porfirio Diaz has been able to maintain his infamous rule over fifteen million outraged subjects by aid of his soldiery, police and camarilla, and largely also through the powerful support of the American capitalist interests. Mexico, with its vast deposits of precious metals and other natural wealth, Mexico with its large supply of cheap and uncomplaining slave labor, Mexico with the arbitrary and lawless reign of the Dollar, has become the paradise of the American capitalists. It has been invaded by our Smelter Trust and Oil Trust, our Sugar Trust, Rubber Trust and Cordage Trust. The Wells-Fargo Express Company has acquired a monopoly of the Mexican express business, and the railroads, land and mines of the country are largely in the hands of American capitalists. The Rockefellers, Guggenheims and J. Pierpont Morgan, have vast holdings in Mexico; Henry W. Taft, brother of the President of the United States, is general counsel for the National Railways of Mexico, and hundreds of other American trust magnates are heavily interested in Mexican enterprises. The total amount of "American" holdings in Mexico is variously estimated at between a billion and a billion and a half dollars.

These American "investors" have always been the staunchest allies of Porfirio Diaz, his partners in pillage and crime, his confederates in the enslavement of the Mexican people.

A reign of iniquity and violence such as was maintained by Diaz and his Wall Street partners no nation, and be it ever so patient and meek, could endure for any length of time. The people of Mexico have for years been in a state of smothered and smouldering revolt. Their limit of patience was reached after the last Presidential election, when Francisco I. Madero, the man who had the courage to oppose his candidacy to that of Diaz, was cast into jail for "insulting the President," the citizens were prevented from voting by violence, and the "election" of Diaz for the eighth term was brazenly proclaimed by his henchmen. Then the people



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BOY SAILORS GOING ABOARD THE TENNESSEE TO SAIL SOUTH.

of Mexico rebelled. In all parts of the country the citizens rose in arms, determined to reconquer their liberty or to die, even as our forefathers had done over a century ago under slighter provocation. The insurrection grew in strength and extension day by day; the Mexican people were solidly with the rebels, the Mexican army was wavering in its allegiance to the despot in the presidential chair; even the censored press dispatches reported repeated victories of the rebel forces—the throne of Diaz was tottering, freedom beckoned the people of Mexico after a generation of servitude. Then the President of the United States dispatched a large force of troops to the Mexican border.

The mission of the American army at the Mexican border and the American warships at the Mexican coasts, is to save the reign of Diaz and to quell the rising of the Mexican people.

Against this unspeakable outrage the Socialist Party of the United States, representing over six hundred thousand American citizens and voters, lodges its public and emphatic protest.

In the name of America's revolutionary past and her best traditions of the present, we protest against the attempt to degrade our country by reducing it to the position of a cossack of a foreign tyrant.

In the name of liberty and progress we protest against the use of the army of our republic to suppress and enslave the people of a sister republic fighting for their freedom and manhood.

In the name of the workers of the United States we protest against the use of the men and money of this country for the protection of the so-called "American" interests in Mexico. We assert that neither the government nor the people of the United States have any property interests in Mexico; that the speculative Mexican ventures of a ring of American industrial freebooters gives us no warrant to interfere with the political destinies of the country, which they have invaded upon their individual responsibility.

AND WE CALL UPON ALL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND ALL LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER BODIES OF PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS TO HOLD PUBLIC MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE LATEST EXECUTIVE CRIME. LET THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE RESOUND FROM ONE END OF THE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER IN LOUD AND UNMISTAKABLE TONE: "WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM THE MEXICAN BORDER!"

SHOTS FOR THE WORK-SHOP

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Poverty has nothing to arbitrate.

The capitalist has no heart. But harpoon him in the pocket-book and you will draw blood.

The manager's brains are under the workman's cap.

The bandage will remain upon the eyes of Justice just as long as the Capitalist has the cut, shuffle and deal.

Industrialism is socialism with its working clothes on.

One union of all workers in an industry; all industries in one union.

There can be no trade agreements between capitalist masters and wage slaves. If you would be industrially free, refuse to sign agreements that enslave you.

If you bore from WITHIN long enough you will come OUT.

Some workingmen are so proud of the dignity of Labor that they wear overalls all the time for fear they will be mistaken for Capitalists.

The Capitalist Class starve Labor which they cannot profitably employ.

Would the Working Class be justified in destroying what they cannot peaceably enjoy?

Twelve hours is a bad habit. Get the Eight-Hour habit. Get it now.

We are going to turn this government from a political junkshop into an industrial workshop.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the Gibraltar of Capitalism.

To the Working Class there is no foreigner but the Capitalist.

The prosperity of a labor organization is measured by its activity.

Activity for improved conditions of employment or against the lowering of existing standards of living means that the membership is in arms against the exploiters.

Action against exploitation requires agitation, publicity, strikes, boycotts, political force—all the elements and expressions of discontent. Discontent is life. It impels to action. Contentment means stagnation and death.



FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM.
EXTREME OUTPOST INSURRECTO CAMP OVERLOOKING JUAREZ.

WHY MEXICAN WORKERS REBEL

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

IN Mexico there are no labor laws in operation to protect the workers—no provision for factory inspection, no practical statutes against infant labor, no process through which workmen may recover damages for injuries sustained or death met in the mine or at the machine. Wage-workers literally have no rights that the employers are bound to respect. Policy only determines the degree of exploitation, and in Mexico that policy is such as might prevail in the driving of horses in a locality where horses are dirt cheap, where profits from their use are high, and where there exists no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Over against this absence of protection on the part of the governmental powers stands oppression on the part of the governmental powers, for the machinery of the Diaz state is wholly at the command of the employer to whip the worker into accepting his terms.

The six thousand laborers in the Rio Blanco mill were not content with thirteen hours daily in the company of that roaring machinery and in that choking atmosphere, especially since it brought to them only from twenty-five to thirty-seven and one-half cents. Nor were they content with paying out of such a sum the one American dollar a week that the company charged for the



INSURRECTOS ON THE FIRING LINE.

rental of the two-room, dirt-floor hovels which they called their homes. Least of all were they content with the coin in which they were paid. This consisted of credit checks upon the company store, which finished the exploitation—took back for the company the final *centavo* that the company had paid out in wages. A few miles away, at Orizaba, the same goods could be purchased for from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent less, but the operatives were unable to buy their goods at these stores.

The operatives were not content. The might of the company towered like a mountain above them, and behind and above the company towered the government. Behind the company stood Diaz himself, for Diaz was not only the government, he was also a heavy stockholder in the company. Yet the operatives prepared to fight. Secretly they organized a union, "El Circulo de Obreros," which means "The Circle of Wonders," holding their meetings not en masse, but in small groups in their homes, in order that the authorities might not learn of their purposes.

Immediately upon the company learning that the workers were discussing their troubles, it took action against them. Through the police authorities it issued a general order forbidding any of the operatives from receiving any visitors whatsoever, even their own relatives being barred, the penalty for violation being the city jail. Persons who were suspected of having signed the roll of the union were put in prison at once, and a weekly newspaper which was known to be friendly to the workers was swooped down upon, suppressed and the printing plant confiscated.

At this juncture a strike was called in the cotton mills in the city of Puebla, in an adjoining state. The mills of Puebla were owned by the same company as owned the Rio Blanco mills, and the operatives thereof were living under similar conditions to those at Rio Blanco. The Pueblo workers went on strike and the company, knowing that they had no resources behind them, decided, as one of its agents told me, "to let nature take its course"; that is, to starve out the workers, as they believed this process could be accomplished inside of a fortnight.

The strikers turned for aid to those of their fellowcraftsmen who were at work in other localities. The Rio Blanco workers themselves were already preparing to strike, but thereupon decided to wait for a time longer, in order that they might collect from their meager earnings a fund to support their brothers in the city of Puebla. Thus were the ends of the company defeated for the moment, for by living on half rations both workers and strikers were able to eke out their existence. But no sooner had the company learned the source of strength of the Puebla strikers than the mills at Rio Blanco were shut down and the workers there locked out. Other mills in other localities were shut down and other means taken to prevent any help reaching the Puebla strikers.

Locked out, the Rio Blanca workers promptly assumed the offensive, declared they were on strike and formulated a series of demands calculated in some measure to alleviate the conditions of their lives.

But the demands were unheard, the machinery of the mill roared no more, the



INSURRECTOS' SKIRMISH LINE, OUTSIDE JUAREZ, FEB. 8TH.

mill slept in the sun, the waters of the Rio Blanco dashed unharnessed through the town, the manager of the company laughed in the faces of the striking men and women.

The six thousand starved. For two months they starved. They scoured the surrounding hills for berries, and when the berries were gone they deceived their gnawing stomachs with indigestible roots and herbs gleaned from the mountain sides. In utter despair, they looked to the highest power they knew, Porfirio Diaz, and begged him to have mercy. They begged him to investigate their cause, and for their part they promised to abide by his decision.

President Diaz pretended to investigate. He rendered a decision, but his decision was that the mills should reopen and the workers go back to their thirteen hours of dust and machinery on the same terms as they had left them.

True to their promise, the strikers at Rio Blanco prepared to comply. But they were weak from starvation. In order to work they must have substance. Consequently on the day of their surrender they gathered in a body in front of the company store opposite the big mill and asked that each of their number be given a certain quantity of corn and beans so that they might be able to live through the first week and until they should be paid their wages.

The storekeeper jeered at the request. "To these dogs we will not even give water!" is the answer he is credited with giving them.

It was then that a woman, Margarita Martinez, exhorted the people to take by

force the provisions that had been denied them. This they did. They looted the store, then set fire to it, and finally to the mill across the way.

The people had not expected to riot, but the government had expected it. Unknown to the strikers, batallions of regular soldiers were waiting just outside the town, under command of General Rosalio Martinez himself, sub-secretary of war. The strikers had no arms. They were not prepared for revolution. They had intended no mischief, and their outburst was a spontaneous and doubtless a natural one, and one which an officer of the company afterwards confided to me could easily have been taken care of by the local police force, which was strong.

Nevertheless, the soldiers appeared, leaping upon the scene as if out of the ground. Volley after volley was discharged into the crowd at close range. There was no resistance whatsoever. The people were shot down in the streets with no regard for age or sex, many women and children being among the slain. They were pursued to their homes, dragged from their hiding places and shot to death. Some fled to the hills, where they were hunted for days and shot on sight. A company of rural guards which refused to fire on the crowd when the soldiers first arrived were exterminated on the spot.

There are no official figures of the number killed in the Rio Blanco massacre, and if there were any, of course they would be false. Estimates run from two hundred to eight hundred. My information for the



INSURRECTO FIRING LINE, FEBRUARY 8TH.

Rio Blanco strike was obtained from numerous widely different sources—from an officer of the company itself, from a friend of the governor who rode with the *rurales* as they chased the fleeing strikers through the hills, from a labor editor who escaped after being hotly pursued for days, from survivors of the strike, from others who had heard the story from eye witnesses.

"I don't know how many were killed,"

the man who rode with the *rurales* told me. "but on the first night after the soldiers came I saw two flat cars piled high with dead and mangled bodies, and there were a good many killed after the first night."

"Those flat cars," the same informant told me, "were hauled away by special train that night, hurried to Veracruz, where the bodies were dumped in the harbor as food for the sharks."

MURDER AS PATRIOTISM

BY

GEORGE D. BREWER

A MERICAN soldiers are off to war! By orders from Washington they are rushing to the front on the Mexican border to give up their lives if need be in defense of American "interests" in Mexico.

Enroute from Mobile to Montgomery, Ala., Comrade Debs and myself stopped at a small station in the extreme southern part of the state. A train loaded with these uncrowned heroes of the United States Army were on a siding. The whole

population of the little town, men, women, children and dogs, were at the depot to see and admire the valiant war lads and their bristling armament.

As they pulled out of the siding women wept, men and boys shouted, dogs barked and fair southern lasses waved dainty handkerchiefs to the boys in kakhi uniforms.

These soldiers were real heroes in the minds of the stupid and drivling populace who were so demonstrative in their supposed patriotism.

If you, dear reader, happen to be endowed with just a trace of real humanitarian feeling and common sense, think of the disgusting and infamous motive behind these mock heroics.

On the part of the soldiers one can only express contempt and pity. Ordered to go blindly to the front to slaughter Mexican workingmen who are inspired with the spirit of revolt against the bloody tyrant who has for years kept them enslaved, they gallantly obey.

Why this mobilization of twenty thousand troops on the Mexican border? Quoting from President Taft's own statement in the morning papers, he says: "American interests must and will be protected in Mexico."

What are the "American interests in Mexico that must and will be protected?" Morgan and other American capitalists own a billion dollars worth of stolen possessions in that despot ridden country and they are enabled by virtue of the Diaz administration to secure Mexican peon labor at from ten to twenty-five cents per day to operate these industries. If the present government is overthrown and the revolutionists are victorious as they will be if left to fight the one enemy, Diaz, conditions would be changed among the Mexican workingmen and our American capitalists would be compelled to pay a living wage to their slaves.

American "INTERESTS," Morgan and Wall Street, see a grave danger to their fabulous profits should the insurrec-

tos be successful. In that event a much larger portion of the wealth produced would go into the stomachs and households of the starving wealth producing peons.

Thus, through Wall Street's official representative, President Taft of the United States, the warships and uniformed murderers are ordered to the front to strengthen the tyrant and intimidate and discourage the Mexican representatives of freedom.

The shame and pity of it all cannot be expressed in words.

American soldiers, with murder in their ignorant hearts, and patriotic (sic) blood seething in their veins, are rushing forward to put down the hope of freedom which has sprung in the souls of real patriots of Mexico.

An inspiring spectacle for lovers of freedom in America, isn't it?

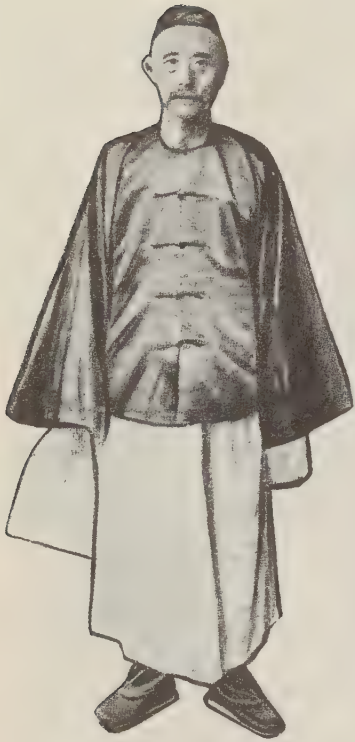
Does the American soldier show true bravery and courage? No. Common brutality!

Does he show a semblance of intelligence or true manhood by permitting a master to order him to murder or be murdered? No. He does show, however, that to be a mēial is his sodden ambition and that to have been born a cur dog with a Mexican master to beat and kick him would have been more in keeping with his demonstrated mentality.

Are the people who cheer and encourage these dogs of war truly civilized? Great God, no! They are semi-barbarous by instinct, ignorant and perverted by training and by natural selection should have lived in the days of Grecian supremacy and cheered on their slave brothers who, under the lash, put down the uprisings of brother slaves in their every struggle for freedom.

If American "INTERESTS" would protect themselves, I'd say, "Go to it!" But damn the degenerate brutes who go to war for them and damn the assinine fools who cheer them on their murderous way in the name of sweet patriotism.





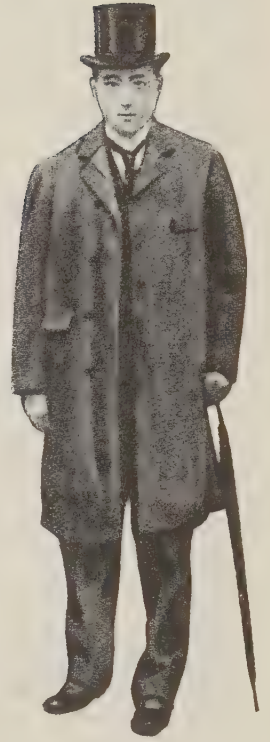
BEFORE THE CHANGE.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

**Showing How Capital,
the Juggernaut, is Devel-
oping and so Hastening
Socialism in the Far East**

BY

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE



AFTER.

UNTIL a few years ago the Far East, as it is called, was closed to Western trade and "civilization." Far "Cathay" was for many centuries a fabulous country, a fabulous and terrifying distance from the centers of "civilization." Many were the tales told by sailors who had returned from "furrin parts" about its wealth. Columbus made his famous voyage in search of a short route to "Cathay" that commerce, such as it was, might be facilitated.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo visited China and Japan. About the middle of the sixteenth century one of the smaller islands of the Japanese kingdom was visited by Fernam Mendez Pinto. In 1549 Christianity was introduced into Japan by St. Francis Xavier. During the next century the priests were exiled by the wily yellow men and a general massacre of all Christians ordered and executed. For about 200 years—until 1854

—Japan was left severely alone by Western nations. Of this more later.

In 1684 the East India Company—an English concern doing business in India—through the intervention of the English government, was given permission to trade with the natives of China. This trade continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when some trouble arose.

In order to understand that trouble we must take a brief survey of Western civilization. During the latter part of the eighteenth century feudalism succumbed to capitalism. Modern industry, as a result of great changes wrought in the mode of production by newly invented labor-saving machinery, triumphed over the old methods of manufacture. Colonies had been established during the past few centuries by all the principal Christian nations and these territories immediately became dumping grounds for the wares

which were turned out in ever increasing quantities by English, French, German, etc., manufactories.

Faster and faster were these wares turned out. As the machines of production, through the application of labor, power became steadily more productive, so grew the volume of surplus products for which a market must be secured. So prodigious was the need for expansion and development immediately forced upon these countries that in a few decades practically the whole inhabitable portion of the globe was brought under this commercial sway.

The Far East being but little known, was for a time exempt. Faster and faster flew the wheels of industry, higher and higher the surplus products mounted, and there was no end of them. The need for greater markets became more pressing. And ever the workers of civilization turned out a larger product. Even those colonies which had served as markets now became hives of industry and they also stood in need of markets for surplus commodities.

Longing eyes were finally turned towards China, Japan, Africa, Persia. In the meantime the East India Company, made up of Christian English gentlemen

who practically owned India, had become immensely interested in the cultivation of the poppy, from which opium was procured. The Chinese were fast becoming addicted to the opium habit. The Chinese government attempted to put an end to the traffic but the company still carried on a large contraband trade. Finally vigorous steps were taken to enforce the Royal Edict against it and traders were severely dealt with when captured. This was Great Britain's opportunity and the British bulldog, ever watchful of the interests of its masters, was unloosed. China received a severe spanking in 1842 and again in 1856-60 and was compelled by the treaty of Nankin to open five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Mingpo and Shanghai—to British commerce.

Thus was capitalist trade and "civilization" forced upon the yellow man. Of course, as usual the whole affair was whitewashed and made to appear as a campaign waged against "heathenism" and Great Britain was pictured as swaggering about with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other. Missionaries were placed on the ground in always increasing numbers to teach the "poor heathens" their great need of "civilization" and for some time things went on



NOT SO FAR BEHIND.

merrily. Funds for missions were raised by numerous individuals and societies who pictured to their hearers and readers the terrible conditions of the dear people without Christianity and its beautifying and uplifting influences. Of course the money was put up for the purpose of "winning the world for Christ." Large numbers of the heathen dropped their heathenism and adopted things western.

Meantime America, an aforesaid market, had swung into line as a great producer of surplus wares—also Germany, France, Italy, etc. In 1844 the United States negotiated a trade treaty with China and ten years later Commodore Perry, U. S. N., landed in Japan and effected a commercial treaty which resulted in opening up Japanese ports to American ships. After a short struggle with the old regime the "civilization" of the West began to take root and a new era was inaugurated in the "Flowery Kingdom." In 1867-8 another important treaty was engineered with Japan by the Hon. Anson Burlingame of the United States. The same was revised in 1880, some troubles over the proposed exclusion of the yellow race from America having arisen.

Capital had in the meantime leaped geographical boundaries and had become International. The European and American trade with the East grew by leaps and bounds and many fat purses were lined at the expense of the wage slaves who produced the wares for foreign markets. Modernism waxed apace in the Far East. There were men—"croakers," they were usually called—who pointed out the inevitable result. Marx and others pointed out that capitalism was conquering and "civilizing" these countries for markets and that eventually when these became highly "civilized"—viz., with capitalist manufacturers—the breakdown of capitalism must inevitably follow. Surplus value wrung from the workers cannot be realized by the owners of industry unless the wares containing that surplus can be marketed. When the markets fail and surplus can no longer be realized upon—then what?

The "croakers" have increased in number and their chorus in volume won-

drously of late. For things are happening. Sixty years ago capital opened up the markets of China. A little later the same favor (?) was conferred upon Japan and the predictions of the "croakers" are fast being realized.

A peculiar phenomenon has of late been manifesting itself. The great East is indeed awakening. For years the "yellow peril" has been a stock phrase with many of the lickspittle class. For decades trades unions, Asiatic Exclusion Leagues and others have been howling of this peril and numerous exclusion acts have been passed in the United States and Canada. Their ostensible purpose was to keep out the yellow immigrant whose lower standard of living was cutting into the wages and standard of living of native workers. Rioting has taken place in the Pacific States and provinces and many a would-be reformer has jumped into parliamentary fame as an exponent of Exclusion. All to no purpose.

Today a real "yellow peril" confronts Western civilization, a peril against which Exclusion is of no avail, one which comes not in the shape of the "man behind the gun" as has been expected, but in the form of cheap commodities. Marx said years ago, "The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it (capitalism) batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian's intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate." Now China, India, Japan, turn the tables and batter the walls of Europe and America with—cheap commodities. The biter is bitten! The following from the National Geographic Magazine reprinted in the Christian Herald will elucidate the cause better than I can.

"American Rivals in the World's Trade. In India, in China and in Japan, we have been the guests who have enjoyed their hospitality, only to arise in the morning and say to our hosts, 'You must not sit at table with us.' Believe me this condition cannot endure. Politically we are in grave danger. Commercially with their industry and their frugality, the members of the yellow race are fast outstripping us. They have ceased buying flour from the Minneapolis mills because they are grinding Indian and Manchurian



OLD STYLE OF CHINESE ROAD TRAFFIC.

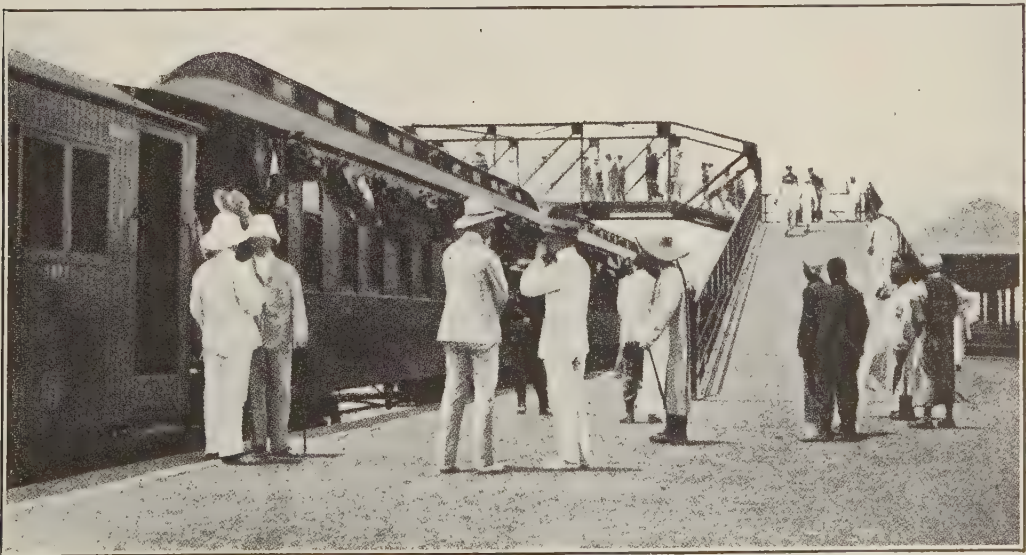
wheat with Chinese labor at Woosung. A line of ships is running from the Yellow River to Seattle bringing 72,000 tons a year of pig iron manufactured at Hankow and delivered, freight and duty added, cheaper than we can produce it. In Cawnpore, India, with American machinery, they are making shoes so cheaply that the manufacturers of Lynn can no longer compete with them. The cottons and silks which we at one time sent to

Asia are now made in Japan and China.—Melville D. Stone.

Nor is this all. The Montreal Weekly Witness, a Canadian newspaper of even international repute, says, "There appears elsewhere a picture of steel works at Hankow, in China, worked by Chinese labor, with Chinese capital under a Chinese directorate and exporting rails to San Francisco.

. This great plant is a menace to Great Britain, threatening to undersell her in her staple industry The days of Great Britain's industrial ascendancy are probably numbered. What China can do in steel she can do in textiles."

Nor is even this all. The magazines of the day are fully alive to the menace. Scores of articles are appearing upon the Far East and her unprecedentedly sud-



MODERN TRANSPORTATION AT TIEN TSIN.

den rise to commercial power. She has proven an apt pupil. Indeed so apt has Japan become that a short time ago—through as fine an art of treachery as ever made Britain “mistress of the seas” and “the empire upon which the sun never sets”—she seized upon Korea and made a market of her. Even now the United States fears her power in connection with the Philippines, the territory which she in turn seized that she might have a “foreign” market to exploit.

“Education” of the American variety is making immense strides in Japan. She is going in for super-dreadnaughts at a cost of 12½ millions each and developing a bunch of government “financiers” second to none. Railway construction and improvement to the tune of millions of yen (the yen is worth about fifty cents) is going on in Korea and Japan proper. So great has been the stride taken towards civilization that even this early in the game she appears to have a considerable spirit of revolt among the workers to contend with. Recently a number of rebels who have been very busy in the dissemination of sedition ideas were arrested and twelve of them on a trumped up charge swiftly tried and railroaded to the gallows. One of these, Kotoku, was a man of international reputation, a gifted writer who had translated the works of Marx into Japanese. His utterance when sentenced to the gallows, “Vive la Revolution,” is significant as showing the spirit of revolt existing.

In China too, we are told by Clarence Poe of the “Progressive Farmer” of Raleigh, N. C., things are moving rapidly. Within a few months China will have a constitutional government. This is indeed one of the surest signs of the breakdown of the old regime and the advent of civilization. Sir John Jordan, British minister to China, tells us that in the past ten years the yellow race has made greater progress than in the preceding ten centuries. This of course from a strictly capitalist viewpoint.

The opium habit became a menace to the productivity of Chinese workers as well as a clog on the ability of public officials. Capitalist China immediately resolves to throw off this traffic and has practically done so already. This break-

ing up of the business has had the same effect upon China as had the fencing of the common lands in England many years ago. Millions of mortgages on small holdings of land have already been foreclosed as the farmers could not make a living when the cultivation of poppies became illegal. Land values have decreased in many places over seventy-five per cent and the peasant farmer will now make his way to the cities and become a wage-slave in capitalist manufactories. History is repeating itself.

As to education it is reported that today there are more school teachers in the empire than there were pupils only six years ago. The curriculum includes all the studies of the American or European pupil. Even graft on the part of officials is a common occurrence and as capital needs a good business administration there as elsewhere, care is being taken to stamp it out. An army is being drilled, the currency system reformed and a modern banking system inaugurated. Telegraphs and telephones, railroads, a postal system—these are some of the projects under way now. Cities are installing up-to-date water and lighting plants. Even Peking, the most Chinese of cities, has a modern water system now under construction. Straws show the direction of the wind. All these things and many more in connection with the Far East go to show that capitalism at last has a firm hold of this last stronghold of the barbarian! And even Socialism, the hope of the exploited and dispossessed workers, is taking root. This, of course, was inevitable so soon as Capital reached the point in the development necessary to breed revolt.

This then is the “yellow peril” that we workers of the older civilized world are getting up against, a peril which is now become very real. In the course of “developing” the East the capitalist class has discovered that the cost of production of labor power in Oriental countries is much less than in America or Europe. In other words the standard of living of the workers is lower; they can subsist as producers on less hay and oats, hence they need not be paid such high wages. At the same time that foreign capital has stepped in Chinese capital has begun to de-

velop and is after a share of the spoils.

Eastern goods can be manufactured, shipped in and sold at a good profit for much less than the home made product. International capital, when this discovery is made begins with added zest to exploit the East, not as a market only but as the home of their manufactories while Chinese and Japanese capital, exploiting their native workers, bid fair to put even the Western capital out of commission. 'Tis a merry game—for those who gather the spoils. Yellow wage-slaves must now produce the wares which have been hitherto produced by white labor. China, Japan and others, until yesterday sans that beautiful institution "civilization" are now to become hives of capitalist industry, while ere long America, "the land of the free" will be the "foreign market" to be exploited by International capital with headquarters in the Far East.

The foregoing is no dream but a stern reality that those workers who are still asleep must face at no distant day. Capital (Industry) will go wherever wares can be manufactured to contain the very largest possible proportion of surplus value—unpaid labor. The situation should be instructive to those who have not yet discovered the cause and remedy. Today all countries, or practically all, are engaged in the struggle for markets. Wars have been fought and millions of lives sacrificed to the golden god—Capital—that he might have markets. No sooner does he seize upon a territory than development begins. Wage slavery with

its mass of surplus value—profit for the god—takes hold and presently that country also has a surplus and is looking for an outlet. What is to happen when in the very near future all countries have a surplus piled mountains high and no market can be found?

Millions of us are today idle because the masters cannot profitably employ us. Industry goes to China where more profit can be made. But tomorrow our condition will be even worse as the yellow man working in his own country—or rather his master's country—will compete and beat us. Other millions of us will then be out of work and so penniless and starving. A few days later the unemployed problem will have traveled to the East in the wake of Industry. The yellow race will flood the world's markets with cheap commodities—dirt cheap. He will throw himself out of a job. He will overproduce as we have done in the past. There will be mountains of goods, food, clothing, shelter, etc., on the market yet you and I, my readers, will be unable to buy—we won't have the price.

Then, my metaphysically inclined friend, my fellow slave, you who have thrown in your unit to help convert the heathen and will perhaps read this and talk solemnly of the "sacredness" of "law and order" and other such piffle, you will be hungry and shelterless with mountains of food and clothing all about you and palaces in profusion occupied by the parasites who have sucked you dry. What will you do? I know well what you will



CHINESE OFFICERS BEING CRITICISED BY COMMANDER.

do. You will have to revolt. You will have to capture the political power of the State and use it to provide for your use the means of life. That is the only way out. You must own and operate for your exclusive use, for the exclusive use of the working class, all the tools of production, distribution and exchange. Until you own these things your life must be uncertain at the best and but a continual round of toil and privation. When you are possessed of these things you will then enjoy to the utmost the good things that are scattered in such profusion all about you.

Perhaps you have wondered why it is that the Socialist, who works beside you at the bench or in the pit, is so unruffled by the slurs and jibes you and your fellow slaves fling at him. Well, I can tell you the secret of his philosophic attitude.

He knows that you must sometime awaken to your need for Socialism. He knows that the screws of oppression—the “iron heel” of capital—are constantly being tightened and steadily becoming more crushing. Perhaps another turn or two will catch you in just the proper place to make a rebel of you. He knows that, sooner or later, you and all workers white, black, yellow, red, without distinction, will have to revolt against capitalism. Knowing this he goes on, unruffled, spreading the light. In a little while when capitalist industry has become a little more perfected our opportunity will come. Then the “expropriators will be expropriated” and slavery be banished from the earth forever. Join us or stay outside, just as you please at present. Sooner or later, however, you must.



TAKE THE BIG STICK

BY

ED MOORE

AN old proverb says that "Money is the root of all evil."

Socialists say that money is human labor power put into a form with which you may buy anything that is for sale.

Recent events have called attention to the buying and selling of city, state, and national offices.

Only collectors of rare specimens and curios pay money for things from which they expect to get no useful service or more money than they paid for them.

Men who are elected to fill city, state, and national offices are not rare specimens of the human race. As the great majority of them are no better and no worse than the average man or woman, they are not bought by bribes because they are abnormal.

Nowadays, when we want to know why people do certain things, we look around to find the cause. If we still thought we would like to know who struck Billy Patterson, its dollars to doughnuts that our first question would be : Why did he hit him? And if we knew that Billy had taken a striker's place we would be reasonably sure that someone of the strikers had "handed it" to him.

It is up to us, then, to find out why anyone will pay good money to buy officials who are the government. We never puzzle our brains trying to find out why people invest money in a profitable business. We know it is much nicer to get rich by putting money into a business, paying wages to others to do the work, and then taking the profit from their work and calling it a legitimate return on our investment than it is to *do the work*.

"Legitimate return." Let us see what this is. Briefly, legitimate means lawful. To get a law to give you the privilege to own what another makes, you must first get those who make the laws on your side.

When you get the biggest crowd of them—a majority—you can have them pass a law to let you take what others make.

You want more than the law to get what you are after. Unless you have the crowd that pass judgment on the law, the judges, on your side, you are very likely to find yourself in the position of a man too late for the train—left.

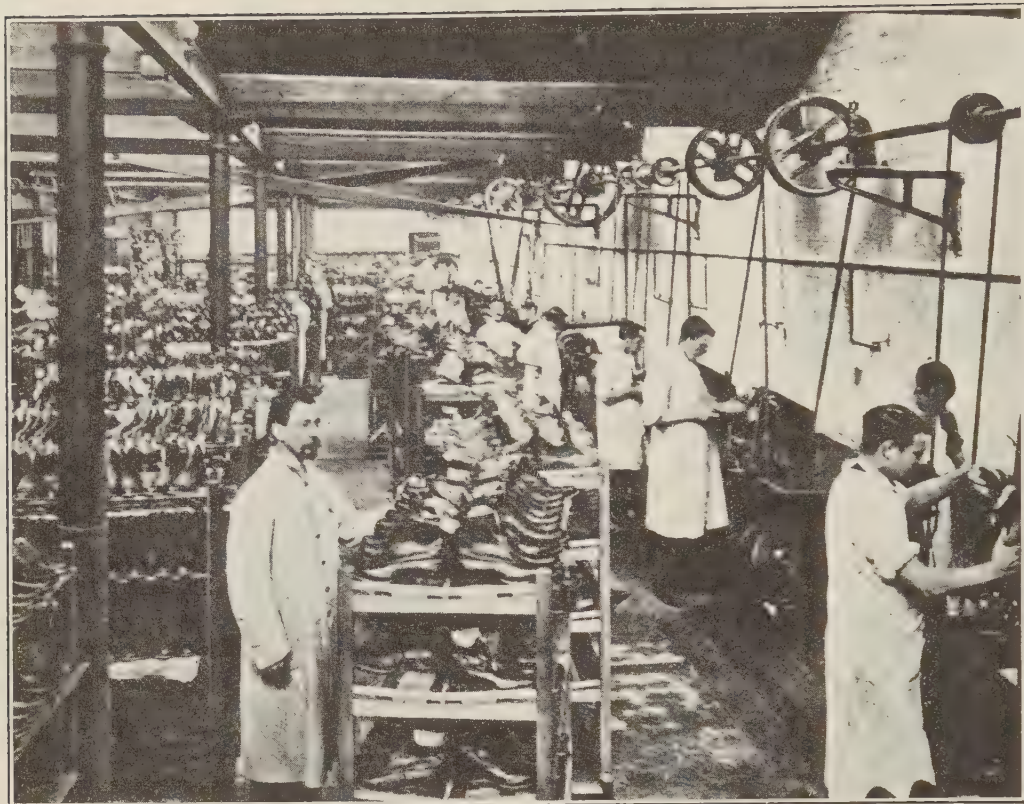
You may have the law and the judges on your side and still not have the power to force the workers to give over to you the wealth they have made. What is it you want then? The "strong arm" of the government, its "slugging committee," "the boys in blue" paid to shoot without asking why. As Tennyson put it:

"There's not to question why
There's but to do and die."

Our rulers, those who have the money they got from the sale of what the working class made, tell plainly what the government is. They say it has three functions: legislative, judicial, and *executive*. Legislative in making the laws; judicial in saying whether the laws are broken or not; executive in using all the force needed to make people obey, or, if it is found necessary to keep the workers quiet, to jail or kill any or all who insist that they have legal rights equal, if not above, those who bought and own the government.

Here is a question for workingmen to consider: If the government is the "big stick" used by the bosses to beat the workers into accepting low wages, would it not be a fine thing for the workers to take it away from the bosses?

There is a big army of working people who are trying to take the big stick away from the bosses. They are in the Socialist party. If you do not like to be beaten with the big stick put in your application to become a member of the party and help take it away from the bosses.



MACHINE FINISHING.

STRIKE OF BROOKLYN SHOE WORKERS

BY

GRACE POTTER

EVER since Nov. 21, 1910, there has been a strike on among the shoe workers in Brooklyn, New York. It is a chapter of the constant story of war between labor and capital—and more. In Brooklyn it is war also between the two branches of organized labor, The Industrial Workers of the World and The Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

They make the finest ladies' shoes in the United States in Brooklyn. The shoes sell for up to \$30 a pair. On such high-grade foot-wear men have worked ten hours a day. During the busy season they made from \$8 to \$12 a week. During the two slack seasons they made as low as 60 and

72 cents a week. These two slack seasons lasted, each of them, over two months. The men almost all of them have families of from three to seven children. The result has been that the shoe-workers and those they supported were always half starved.

There has never been any union in the Brooklyn shoe industry except what the men call in all seriousness the "Tobin" Union. Ten years ago one shop in Brooklyn, the Wickert & Gardner concern, was organized in The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of which John F. Tobin of Boston is president.

Wages all over Brooklyn were bad enough but in the Union shop they were

worse than anywhere else. The men begged and pleaded with the Union leaders for years that they make some move toward a betterment in wages. The answer was always the same, "You are working under contract and we cannot help things now." Then always when the contract expired, union officials, without proper conference with the men, would arrange with Wickert & Gardner a new scale of prices, binding the men for years ahead to prices as low as ever. The rise in the cost of living the last two years made the men desperate last fall. Their contract under which they were at work would not expire till April. The contract called for work on slippers and the men for a long time had been working on high shoes which took twice as long to make at the old scale of wages.

When Joseph Ettor, a member of the executive board of the I. W. W., came on from Washington, D. C., last October and began to agitate for a new organization, the men were all ready for it. The next time the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union representative called to collect the \$0.25 monthly dues, the men took out their union cards and tore them to pieces under his eyes.

"We are half starving," the men told him. "The Union keeps us at work at less wages than anywhere in Brooklyn. We don't make enough to buy bread for our families. We are done with the union."

The men were told that if they struck the union would furnish workers to take their places.

"We shall see that Wickert & Gardner have all the union workers they want to put out their shoes," the union officials declared. "We shall live up to the contract. It binds us to the present prices." In vain the workers pointed out that the contract was signed when a different style of shoe, taking half the time, was made. The union officials said that made no difference. And the men struck.

Shoe Workers' Local Union No. 168, I. W. W., was formed and shoe workers from the largest shops in Brooklyn joined the strike. The strike had two definite aims, to oust the union men who had been sent to take the strikers' places and to secure higher wages. Between three and four thousand men went out. The scabs who took their places were provided with new union cards but many of them had never

made shoes before and the shops, though paying wages, could not put out work. The only men who remained at work when the strike was first declared were the Goodyear machine men who were making as high as \$40 a week. They refused to see that the cause of the poorly paid workers should be their cause too. These men have, however, been idle at their machines ever since the first two weeks of the strike when the available supply of material for them to work upon was used up.

Though the strike-benefit allowed was many times less than a dollar a week, the men have held out wonderfully well, the more so when it is considered that most of them are new to any united action or any effort to better their condition.

The bosses knew that the holiday rush brought the men the best wages of any time in the year and they confidently expected they would come back shortly. The low wages made it impossible for them to have saved a cent and the bosses thought the cold weather would make new clothes a necessity to prevent sickness. The Shoe Manufacturers' Association argued in this way to the Brooklyn employers and offered aid in fighting the strike. The employers put up bonds of many thousands of dollars each to the Association not to take back the strikers as I. W. W. men. It is estimated that the Association has spent at least \$200,000 in fighting the strike.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has been sent to Brooklyn by the I. W. W. to assist Joseph Ettor in the conduct of the strike. She has gone to labor organizations all over New York and Brooklyn asking for financial help for the strikers.

Written appeals of different kinds have also been sent out. These were prepared mostly by the strikers themselves and bear evidence of their lack of understanding of English. This in many cases has given an added pathos to the request. The following is an example of an appeal sent to their fellow workers to join them in striking:

**To All Workers Working in Shoe Factories in
Which the Lasters Are Out on Strike,
Listen a Word With You.**

We who are your fellow workers who suffered and worked under the same miserable conditions that all of you, unable to longer bear in meek submission and suffer to work for miserable low wages revolted, we struck in order to better our conditions.

Therefore we appeal to you in the name of your shopmates and comrades in misery who are struggling for better conditions that you make common cause with the workers out on strike and common war against the arrogant bosses who seek to starve into submission the brave men who have had the courage to rebel against miserably low pay.

Desert the shops, Fitters, Firemen, Engineers, all workers without distinction as to trades, sex or anything else. Show in no mistaken terms that you are men and women who love and yearn for better conditions. Don't be scabs by helping to defeat your shopmates, you may be satisfied to-day and will use your position to help the bosses defeat the striking workers, to-morrow you will be out but without the support of your fellow workers, then there is the sad plight of defeat for all, one group after another.

Desert the shops, agitate, organize, organize right, join in with the lasters and other workers all into **ONE BIG UNION** of Shoe Workers.

We appeal to you to make common cause with us and we are fervently hoping that you will not turn a deaf ear to our appeal.

We are going to win, victory is sure to crown our efforts and on the day we return to work and ever afterward we will remember and never forgive those who now remain at work in the struck shops and help the bosses. We will pass the list of names of all the traitors in this fight on and on.

We will forever remember. We will never forget. We will never forgive.

An Injury to one is an injury to all. Solidarity is the watchword of labor.

Sincerely yours for the cause of labor.

Shoe Workers Strike General Committee.

73 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Among the men on strike there are many nationalities represented. Beside the Italians who are in the majority, there are Jews, Germans, Poles, Irish and Americans. As usual, the bosses have tried to create race prejudice, but they have not succeeded.

There have been many arrests of pickets but the orderliness of the strikers has successfully prevented many convictions. Dominique Taropetto, one of the strikers, who was walking along the street with a red sash across his chest, bearing the words, "Striking Shoe Worker," was arrested by a critical policeman for parading without a license. He was gravely sentenced to ten days in prison by a judge who declared that he hoped that would keep him from breaking any law in the future!

There is a police station within a block of the Wickert & Gardner shop and a detail of fifty policemen are sent at noon and night to keep the pickets from speaking to the scabs. These cops have not relished the job of spying on their very neighbors

and have done their best to keep their pictures out of the papers. A newspaper representative with a camera went one day with a delegation of strikers to the shop to get some pictures. One policeman whose picture was taken before he realized what was going on, called in a fury to the photographer, "Don't you dare take another picture around here!" The photographer walked over to the policeman's side and informed him that it was not against the law to take pictures on the street and it was not going to be stopped. When the policeman saw he was dealing with a newspaper man and not a striker, he tried to cool down a little and said that his picture must not be used in any paper. "I don't wonder you are ashamed of the work you are doing," said the newspaper man politely. After a conference with the lieutenant the policeman decided that he could not arrest the reporter and swallowed his wrath.

Among those who have come to the aid of the strikers are individual members of the very union the strike is against. They have expressed the greatest shame and humiliation at the attitude of their leaders and assured the strikers of their fullest sympathy. Other organized workers who have sent money are those from all sorts of textile unions, machinists, glass workers, and miners, beside many Socialists.



THE "COP."



SEWING UPPERS.

Some of the men have worked as long as twenty-three years in one shop. One man said he had begun work when a boy at \$4 a week and now, over twenty years later, could make no more than \$10 in the busy season. For ten years he had belonged to "Tobin's" union.

Morris Gladstone, of 1664 Prospect avenue, Brooklyn, who despite his name, came from Italy eleven years ago, said: "I wouldn't go back to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union again for anything. I'll go the river first. My family hasn't had enough bread for years and I'd rather starve protesting than starve submitting any longer. There are just nine in the Gladstone family, seven children beside the father and mother. "Sometimes I could make ten or twelve dollars a week," said Mr. Gladstone, "but often for weeks at a time I could not make a dollar. So we've starved!"

The following is a copy of a letter sent out to all shoe dealers:

Brooklyn, N. Y., January 10, 1911.

Dear Sir:—

We enclose a copy of the preamble of the "Industrial Workers of the World," an organization which is opposed to both employers and trade unions alike, having for their object to get control of the manufacturies and to dictate their own terms. Their agitators have recently organized most of the lasters of New York and their demands are so unreasonable that it would be suicidal for any manufacturer to attempt to treat with them as they could with the "Cutters," "Goodyear Operators," or other like unions. In some shops, they have walked out two and three times in one week after their demands had been granted each time. In other shops, they demanded an increase greater than the total profit on the shoe.

Realizing that if we did not crush this organization, it would mean a large advance in the price of shoes together with inferior workmanship, we decided to protect our trade at any cost. We are the only factory up to date that has been entirely successful and we are pleased to inform our trade that prices and quality will remain the same. So completely have we the situation in hand that there will be no trouble in the future.

We are now devoting our undivided attention to helping the other manufacturers less fortunate than ourselves. We would seek your assistance and indulgence in their behalf so that this organization will be driven from the city.

Yours truly,

(signed) KRIEGER SHOE CO.

The feeling in union circles generally is typified by the following:

Jewelry Workers' Resolution.

The Independent Jewelry Workers' Union requests The Call to print the following:

"At a regular meeting of the Independent Jewelry Workers' Union, held on Tuesday evening, January 10, 1911, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the 4,000 organized shoe workers of Brooklyn who have been on strike for the past few months, and suffering with those depending upon them all sorts of privations, are being confronted with the disgraceful spectacle of their fellow workers, members of another union, scabbing upon them; and

"Whereas such a state of affairs tends, besides discouraging workers in other trades from affiliating with trade unions, to bring humiliation upon the whole trades union

movement making it a laughing stock and opening up an opportunity for the employing class to point its finger of derision at any attempt on the part of the workers to uphold trades unionism; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, members of the Independent Jewelry Workers' Union, hereby register our most earnest protest against the action of the scabbing union and call upon all self-respecting unions to voice their declaration in a like manner; and be it further

"Resolved, That all labor leaders in and around Greater New York be called upon to exert every effort they can muster to bring about a speedy settlement of a situation that has become a blot upon the history of trades union movement in the United States."

"MOSES L. LORENTZ,
President.

"JULIUS ROSENTHAL,
"Secretary."

If the strikers do not win, it will be because they can not stand the sight of their hungry wives and babies. The last reports are that half of the men have gone back to their shops rather than see their children suffer as they have for more than three months.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MACHINISTS

BY

ROBERT M. LACKEY, General Secretary



THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

BACK ROW—GUS. ZWABODA, CHARLES HEYDE, CHRIS IHLING, FRANCIS J. O'CONNELL.
FRONT ROW—JOHN J. MCCARTHY, ROBERT M. LACKEY.

SENTIMENT in favor of industrial unionism has made tremendous strides as a result of the lectures on the subject, recently delivered in the East by William D. Haywood. Noteworthy meetings have been held under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Machinists in New York City, Harrison, N. J., and Bridgeport, Ct.

Haywood made the trip from Denver, across two-thirds of the continent, with but a brief stop at Detroit, in order to address the throng gathered at the great Annual Entertainment and Ball of the Brotherhood in New York on Washington's Birthday Eve. The enthusiastic re-

ception accorded him and the concrete results achieved were ample rewards for a journey many times as long.

The necessity of industrial organization has been recognized by the rank and file of the machinists for a long time. In 1903, the members of the International Association of Machinists with which the lodges which organized the Brotherhood of Machinists were formerly affiliated, declared themselves in favor of industrialism, but this, like the other referendums of a progressive tendency, was ignored by the officials. It is true that feeble, spasmodic attempts were made to organize metal trade councils in various localities,

but these have been repeatedly proven to be quite useless when most needed, for each craft organization after consulting its separate executive authority has almost invariably found it quite impossible for innumerable reasons to assist the others in time of trouble.

When the Brotherhood of Machinists was organized, about eighteen months ago, many members advocated the formation of an organization to embrace all the workers in the metal and machine industry, but the step from a simple craft organization to an industrial union in the broadest sense of the term was deemed inadvisable at that time, when all the forces at the command of the officials of the I. A. of M., from which the lodges in the B. of M. had been compelled to separate, were being used to whip the "rebels" back into line. The platform as originally adopted was a compromise; it declared "The purpose of the Brotherhood of Machinists is to organize all the workers in the machine industry and to strive to secure for them the full products of their toil."

During the past year the membership of the Brotherhood has grown and its strength increased. The impediments placed in its path by its enemies have been swept aside and henceforth need not be considered. Meanwhile the sentiment in favor of industrialism has been fostered by lectures and articles in the "Machinists' Bulletin." "The crime of craft unionism" by Debs, first appearing in the "International Socialist Review," was reprinted in full and was generally commended for its plain statement of fact and logical conclusions. It did much good. Then, a considerable portion of the members were formerly in the Metal Workers' Union of Germany, where an organization embracing all the workers in an industry has long been a reality.

With all the forces tending toward the same purpose, it was but necessary to crystallize the sentiment so that it would be given concrete expression. This was accomplished to a large degree, through Haywood's address on "Industrialism, the Coming Victory of Labor," delivered at the entertainment and ball held by the Brotherhood in New York City, where there are twelve local lodges.

It was an event greater than a simple

entertainment that jammed the two halls in Murray Hill Lyceum and brought parties from Newark, Harrison and Elizabeth, N. J., and even the more distant state of Connecticut. Haywood was greeted by generous and prolonged applause. His intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the A. F. of L. was particularly displayed in his references to the machinists in the opening remarks, which were as follows:

"I have come a long way to be with you this evening. No doubt had I chosen another course and so preferred, I could have been at another machinists' affair tonight (referring to a ball held by the I. A. of M. on the same night), I would have been honored by being heralded in an official journal of the A. F. of L. and mentioned in the press with praise as a member of the executive board of the National Civic Federation. I prefer, however, to be with you machinists, the members of the Brotherhood of Machinists, because you are rebels. You have dared to revolt even against the tyranny of labor leaders, who stand in the way of progress. It is my fate to be ever with the radicals, the rebels, and the undesirable citizens generally; so I prefer to be with you rather than with the others.

"I regret division in the ranks of labor, but it is often justified and will be vindicated by the victories of the future. The strike of the machinists on the Santa Fe road was lost because of division in the ranks of labor. The various railroad brotherhoods interceded in behalf of the machinists' organization, but when they were asked if each of them did not have a contract with the road and if it was not being carried out according to schedule, they were compelled to answer in the affirmative. The management then told the brotherhoods: 'Live up to your contracts and we will attend to the machinists.' And it did attend to them so effectually that there is no union of machinists on the Santa Fe System today. It was the same in the strike on the Rio Grande. That also has been attended to.

"The evils of division were seen by the members of the International Machinists, who instituted a series of referendums for the purpose of obliterating them as much as possible. One was to extend the scope of the organization, so as to include help-

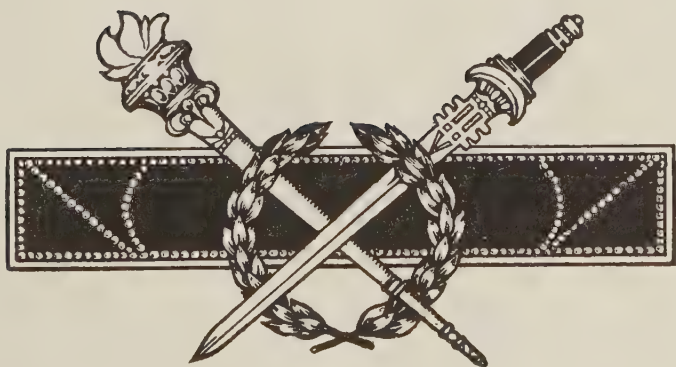
ers, and others directed the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to vote for the principles of Socialism and against Gompers for president. * * * Helpers were not admitted as desired. Socialism was covered up and blotted out. Gompers was not only voted for by all of the I. A. of M. delegates at the A. F. of L. convention, but was placed in nomination by one of them as well. Division under such circumstances is born of revolt. It is justifiable and shall and will be vindicated. Though you may be only 3,000 in number, you are stronger in fact than 30,000 who are submissive and divided in opinion. You are powerful; they are powerless."

The meeting held under the auspices of the Harrison Local of the Brotherhood was biggest mass meeting held in that city. The largest hall was crowded to the doors by those eager to hear Haywood's lecture on "Industrialism." The speaker's surprising store of information was again shown by his references to local labor conditions and the clear, con-

vincing replies to the numerous questions from the audience were a revelation to all.

The Bridgeport meeting occurred too late to be included in this article. At this time the indications are that the successes in other places will be repeated.

Now for the results. Since the Haywood address in New York, several locals have proposed amendments to the constitution of the Brotherhood which provide for the extension of the qualifications for membership so as to admit every person engaged in any branch of the metal and machine industry. In order to provide for the unskilled and lower paid workers, a lower rate of dues is to be collected from these. As the demand for this change is so prevalent, it will undoubtedly be ratified by the referendum vote which must follow. Then there will be another considerable body of workers, having at present locals in the East and Middle West, which has adopted a sane but not conservative, industrial form of organization.





The Foundry.

A FLOOR OF 60 PIANO MOLDS; THE STRIPPING PLATE MOLDING MACHINE ON WHICH THE DRAGS ARE MADE IS SHOWN IN THE FOREGROUND AT THE LEFT AND THE COPE STAND AT THE RIGHT.

(When these plates are made by hand, the daily output of a molder and helper averages from six to seven molds. By the use of the stripping plate machine and the cope stand five unskilled men produce 65 molds a day. To equal the record of machine molding would require 18 men—nine molders and nine helpers—when molding by hand.)

A MOLDERLESS FOUNDRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

YOU have heard of an Adamless Eden, of boneless fish, smokeless powder and seedless oranges, but did you ever hear of a Molderless Foundry? I can see the crew of some backwoods jobbing shop where they still "bed in" everything smile in a superior sort of way and remark, "Some slaughter house where they make chunks 'maybe.'"

Is that so? Well, now you and your pattern maker, who is also carpenter and engineer, and maybe cupola tender, go over to that car on the side-track and examine the castings on the airbrake. Note the triple valve. Is it a "chunk"? Look at the cylinder. It must be perfectly clean and free from all defects. In your one-horse shop it would take you a whole day to make one. Inspect the tank, and remember that it is only 3-16 of an inch thick and must stand an air test of 500 pounds to the square inch. Could you

make one at all? Well, all these castings are made in the Molderless Foundry of the Westinghouse Airbrake Company, at Wilmerding, Pa., 15 miles from Pittsburg.

For several generations inventors have been securing patents upon, and promoters have been pressing the claims of inventions which they insisted were destined to revolutionize the foundry business. A few of them substituted squeezing or bumping for the molder's rammer, but for the most part they were mere pattern drawing devices designed to perform the one operation requiring most skill. The aim of the inventors of this latter type of machine was to enable unskilled laborers to do the work of skilled molders, *and do more of it.*

They were not in any true sense labor saving. The machine operator who took the place of the molder had to do all of the hard, slavish drudgery that the molder

had to do. If the machine enabled him to make more molds than the molder, the drudgery was increased just that much. Every improvement that has been made upon these machines increased the pace and intensified the muscular strain on the machine hand. And while the output per man increased, the earnings per man decreased. The same improvement that increased the output decreased the earnings and lowered the economic status of the "hands."

While hundreds of foundries have installed these pattern drawing devices only a few have introduced any real labor saving machinery. One of the few is the Airbrake at Wilmerding. In addition to pattern drawing devices which merely eliminate skill, they were the first in the world to introduce a whole new system of foundry practice, eliminating the hard, muscle-straining work of sand cutting, sifting, shoveling, ramming, carrying out molds, casting and shaking out.

Even in foundries where the pattern pullers are in use, it is still the practice to make molds for 6 to 8 hours and devote the remaining hour or hours to casting. Excepting upon jobs requiring more than one day to mold, very little molding is done in such foundries after the blast goes on and the metal begins to run.

At the Airbrake foundry at Wilmerding, this ancient practice has been entirely abandoned. There they have several cupolas from one of which metal flows all day. There finished molds are not placed on the floor to await metal, but on a conveyor which takes them to the cupola to be poured. This was the one big revolutionary innovation at Wilmerding; the one that made numerous others possible.

There are two conveyors, one for small molds which moves continuously, and the other for large molds which moves intermittently—moves every time a batch of molds is finished. To the small conveyor goes all molds which ordinarily would be made on the bench; molds one-half of which a man can conveniently handle. All larger ones, molds that require two men to handle, one-half of which must be handled with a crane, go to the conveyor which moves only when the last mold of a batch is finished. Of course, the size mold that can be handled even on the large conveyor is limited,

but they make airbrake tanks and cylinders at Wilmerding.

The small conveyor is in the form of a link, one side of which is toward the molding machines and the other side toward the cupola. Instead of each man or group of men pouring his mold or their own molds, a special gang, stationed at the cupola, pour all molds, and pour them right on the moving conveyor.

At the end of the conveyor just before it turns back to the molding machines, is the "shaking out" bed, consisting of a coarse iron grating on a level with the foundry floor. On this small conveyor the molds are limited to a size that two men can handle, and stationed at the grating are two "shakers out," who grab each mold as it passes, knock out sand and casting and return the flask to the conveyor. Another man, with a hook, pulls the casting to one side away from the grating. The sand passes through the grating to a conveyor which takes it to a mixer where water and new sand are added and where it is thoroughly mixed and cooled.

Over each molding machine is a hopper bottom bin, tapering into a spout closed with an ordinary gate controlled by a lever within easy reach of the operator of the machine. Another conveyor brings the sand from the mixer to these bins. In a steady stream, the cooled, tempered and renewed sand is returned to the bins. Hour after hour through the long monotonous day at regular intervals of a few seconds the flasks come back on the conveyor. No matter how hot the day or stifling the atmosphere, no matter how his back hurts, how his head aches or how exhausted he is, the machine "hand," like a criminal in a treadmill, must keep pace with the conveyor or make room for one that can. Even when each "hand" keeps the pace without missing a stroke it requires nice adjusting to make the stream of metal from the cupola match the stream of molds from the machines.

The hard, slavish drudgery that makes work in the ordinary foundry so murderous is all eliminated at Wilmerding. There is no sand to cut, no sifting, shoveling, ramming, carrying out of molds, pouring or shaking out. Still though each motion does not require all his strength so great is the nervous pressure and muscular exertion needed to drive the

body at such a rate that the "hand" is exhausted as much as if he were doing heavier work at a slower pace. As the load decreases the speed increases so that at the end of the day about the same amount of "juice" has been extracted from the "hand." But with this difference, that at the high speed, the output per "hand" has been enormously increased.

Why He Can Make the Speed.

Instead of being obliged to shovel the sand from the floor, the machine operator at Wilmerding places the flask under the spout from the sand bin; a quick jerk opens and another closes the gate and the flask is filled. Now, instead of pounding away with his rammers, a slight push brings it under a powerful hydraulic press and a touch on a lever sets the press in motion and quicker than I can tell it, half of the mold is compressed to exactly the right degree of hardness. Now, instead of "sponging," "rapping," and slowly and carefully "drawing" the pattern and then, perhaps, spending some minutes mending it, he gives a lever a push and the pattern is drawn, and drawn so perfectly that no mending is necessary. Now, instead of carrying it out on the floor to await the melting of metal, he just turns around and if it is a "drag"

turns it over and sets it on the carrier and grabs the next flask and begins another. If it is a "cope" he matches it with the "drag" made by the "hand" on the machine on his right. On jobs where there are several cores to set like tripple valves, there may be a third man who places the cores.

In the molding of a job where one or even a dozen castings are to be made the methods and practice are substantially the same as they were 100 years ago. Indeed, if a molder that made the bronze columns for King Solomon's temple were to return today and watch the molding of a casting, where only one was to be made, he would see nothing new. So far as the making of the molds is concerned no invention has so far affected a number of branches of molding, the most important of which are the jobbing and heavy machinery branch. In fact the march of progress, by making castings more complicated, has raised the standard of skill and made jobbing and machinery molding more of an art than ever before.

But the number of these very highly skilled molders is small when compared with the total number of foundry workers, while the skilled specialty molder is being forced out by machines operated by unskilled laborers.



THE DAY'S WORK OF 60 MOULDS WITH THE MACHINES. UNDER THE OLD METHODS THE SAME MEN TURNED OUT ONLY 30.

NOW IS THE TIME

BY

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS

THE control of the Pacific" is a phrase which has a sweet sound in the eager ears of the masters, and at their behest the news columns of the directly and indirectly subsidized press of these Benighted States of America are being larded with it from day to day.

It is not alone the commercial advantages which might be gained in Asia through the "prestige" of a naval and military victory over Japan, heretofore undefeated, that causes the ruling class in this country to feel such patriotic joy over the idea, nor is that joy confined to those who expect to profit ultimately by extended markets or immediately by selling to the government rotten transport ships, in which to drown fool heroes by wholesale, or putrid commissary supplies with which to poison them. Aside from these pleasant prospects (calculated to reflect great credit and glory upon the gaudy Stars and Stripes) there is the gorgeous probability that hosts of sovereign American citizens, by such a course of national flim-flam, may become so imbued with patriotic enthusiasm for "our country" and its flag as to forget that they are members of a dispossessed and mercilessly exploited class in human society.

Clearly, the greatest good to be derived from the projected war with Japan, in the fond expectations of our anxious masters, is to be realized through the patriotic fervor which may be aroused in the minds of wageworkers, clerks and salaried men in all fields, not only turning their thoughts from the tyranny of capitalism in this great rich country, but also inspiring them with a feeling that anything done under the official flapping of the Stars and Stripes must be noble and glorious. The skeleton army of the United States would be filled out (as pretty poster pictures and alluring lies have failed to fill it), and recruits would be of the type desired by the master class.

For the regular army, lacking many thousands of men to bring it up to its authorized numerical strength, also is lacking in the true spirit of American patriotism prescribed by the masters, the prime quality of which consists in the willingness of the armed slaves to slaughter striking workmen for the glory of the American Flag and the strengthening of the chains of wage slavery upon the limbs of the American workingman. So many of the enlisted men in the army as it is are only discouraged workmen themselves, with bitter memories of wage slavery endured and jobs fruitlessly sought. Furthermore, their army life has been such as would enlist the kindly offices of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in their behalf if they were dumb quadrupeds instead of sovereign American citizens.

The growth of industrial unionism, the masters perceive, is such as to decrease the comfort of their position on Labor's back, and on this account they are becoming more acutely conscious of America's need of a loyal and patriotic army that will stop at nothing.

A little Jap-war enthusiasm might do it! . . . *Hurray for the American flag! Go on, you sovereign slaves! Fight and grow patriotic, for all of you who do not die in war can be used to slay revolutionary unionists while patriotism and the lust for slaughter are hot in your blood! Hurray for Old Glory! Hurray!*

* * *

Now is the time for the anti-militarism propaganda, now that we can carry it forward without incurring the penalty of death or worse. When, in the future, we shall be called upon to cry out against the monstrous military program of the masters of America in the face of all the penalties which the government will impose, let us hope that none of us will fail; but let us do all we can now, when we can work most effectively with least sacrifice.

THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

MANY thanks from many comrades in California, including myself, for your editorial on the statements of Max Hayes in this month's Review. As a matter of fact, the movement in California is now in a most dangerous condition. Things have progressed so far that the "impossibilist" position is being actually worked out with a curious directness and clearness such as has not been seen in any other place, unless perhaps France. The war between the greater and smaller capitalism with the present electoral triumph of the latter, has resulted in exactly what we always maintained would be the case. The smaller capitalism coming into power finds itself passing a whole series of legislative enactments aimed at giving it a purchase with which to meet the attacks of the corporation machines. Primary election laws, which destroy the validity of party organization, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall which will possibly be applied even to the courts, are all on the way, female enfranchisement and pretty nearly everything of that kind which was a dream ten years ago are coming into being before our eyes, but the greater capitalism is biding its time. It is maintaining no lobby this year as it does not know whether a legislative lobby is worth the expense. It knows perfectly well that the smaller capitalism can effect no real changes and it relies, and with perfect safety, on its economic position to right the craft if it seems in any danger of a real upset.

Under these circumstances when above all it is necessary for the movement to maintain its strategic position, we get the most idiotic and futile meddling with affairs. A socialist lobby has been established at Sacramento and our embryo statesmen, with an itch for distinction,

are putting their messy fingers in the bourgeois political pie.

Not content with this, they are anxious to drag the Socialist party into the mire of pure and simple trade union political action. The record of San Francisco official unionism is to be endorsed by the Socialists if the opportunist group has its way and the movement is to be turned over, body and breeches, to the men who have always treated it with disdain and have no greater conception of the industrial conflict than a Square Deal between capital and labor. In other words, the Socialist movement is politically to be made subservient to the wishes of union officials. The rank and file are rapidly outgrowing this official attitude. In fact, in Oakland union after union has turned down the proposals of the union leaders and has voted for the straight Socialist ticket independent of any compromise.

This is not the place to enter upon a description of just what the labor party has made itself responsible for in San Francisco and indeed one cannot very well tell the truth about the matter in print without causing animosities and stirring up strife which need not be aroused. As a matter of fact, the whole structure of pure and simple trades unionism is rapidly disintegrating. Some day the push will come which will show its absolute and utter weakness. It is a dying manifestation and if the Socialist party ties itself to that movement and the political expression of that movement, it ties itself to a diseased and dying thing and will itself perish along with its companion.

Such an alliance will lose the Socialist party and indeed the Socialist political movement the adherence of the vast mass of the rank and file in the unions themselves.



NATIVE GIRLS.

COMRADE—Just received your welcome letter, also 100 copies of "Merry England" and 172 copies of "What's So and What Isn't." Thanks. All in good condition. Sales are slow here, yet I hope to sell all in three or four months.

I sell more literature on the calling steamers than elsewhere. But all these sea-faring people are fairly well paid, treated, and well fed. Many of them "blow in" all their good wages knowing (?) that there's plenty more coming next month. I tell you, Comrades, it's hard to get such people interested in Socialism.

Last evening as I was talking to some of the "M.'s" crew, the burly boatswain interrupted me with "Awe, Socialism is a d—m lie." Another fat, red-faced, pudding-fed sailor said to me, "I don't want any Socialist books. I've read all their books and come to the conclusion that you'll never get Socialism."

It's only the few thinkers and the oppressed that will buy our literature here. On the continent (where there are halls and such places for assemblies), is the best field for spreading Socialism.

It's difficult also, to sell our books to first-class passengers. The second-class

A LETTER FROM PAPEETE TAHITI SOCIETY ISLANDS

BY

E. W. DARLING

feel that they have paid the limit for their tickets for a long voyage, but the third-class are the chief buyers of our paper-covered books. Among the latter I sell many 25c bundles of such books as I've just ordered from you. I have much faith



BRIDE AND GROOM.

in these cheap paper-covered, but straight-from-the-shoulder books.

As to the French literature, I hope soon to receive a bundle of paper-covered books from Paris. A few of the French here are deeply interested in Socialism and quite intelligent on the subject.

But the poor, exploited, cheated, missionary-ridden natives are hopelessly down. I've come to the conclusion that it's too late to do anything for them. Six years ago, when I first came here, I printed 500 tracts for them, sold a few and gave away the rest, but I think 'twas like pouring water on a duck's back. No organization, no improvement in environment or industrial condition, what would you expect? They are on a steady decline. True, they have sixty or more missionaries, and twenty or thirty churches on this small island, yet the saloons are doing a fat business.

The laborers receive from 8c to 10c per hour for toiling in the warm sun nine hours. Some of them receive 12c per hour, but don't earn 5c. I observed that a well-paid, well-fed and well-watched native will do a good, respectable day's work. So they're not all lazy.

There's no encouragement for outdoor sports or recreation. On Sundays they

go to church, and behave well. Others hire carriages and go out in the country with several bottles of rum, accordions, and giddy women. Still others will sit dizzy headed around the saloons all day. And they keep the saloons like crowded bedlams all Sunday, every Sunday in the year.

There's no one to teach them financial economy, how to preserve their bodies or enrich their minds. They have been looked upon as savages until many of them (not all) are really beastly in manners and looks, as you may judge by the pictures I am sending you herewith.

The better class of natives who work in stores and offices in town, are quite as pleasant and intelligent as most of the whites. A few are even more advanced than the average white. We have a \$100 a month native (for example) attending all the duties of our mayor. Mr. T. is a well-educated and well-liked man by all who know him. I have several native friends whom I esteem highly. The pictures enclosed herewith are more of the better class.

But they are all becoming more and more dependant upon the Chinese coffee shops for their food. Every mile along the road in the country there's one or



PREPARING DINNER.



WASHING CLOTHES.

more coffee shops. In town they are thick and well-patronized. They eat less and less of their good old native food—fish, cocoanuts, bread-fruit, plantain and poi.

Before the coral islanders saw the white man's ships or bibles they had only raw fish and cocoanuts to eat. Their strapping bodies, clear eyes, beautiful dark-brown glossy skins and pearly sound teeth showed how truly well they lived. But the kind (?) missionaries have taught them to cover their beautiful forms with white duck suits, white shoes and fine straw hats; to shave off their flowing beards and healthy heads of jet black shiny hair.

Now they are more stooped, haggard-eyed and snoggle-toothed (as I call it). Too poor to pay the \$5-a-cavity for having their aching teeth filled. Only one dentist to look after these 1,000 of poor, crying teeth, ruined by the white man's white bread, white-cube sugar, white half-cooked rice, and ruined also by the brown Chinaman's hot, brown (and dark) coffee for which they pay five little brown cents regularly every morning and evening.

But the women—the might-be beauties of the world, it's pitiful to see many of

them promenading the market square in the evenings, offering their bodies to sailors or to anybody who will supply them with more pink muslin gowns, ribbons and perfumery, with more hot coffee and bread, smeared with inferior, ill-smelling butter—with more wine and rum



NATIVE GIRLS.

and cigarettes. Yes, it's disgusting to see so many of them smoking. With their upa-upa (accordions) they try to play and sing off their debauches the day after the "night."

There are a few, however, yet unspoiled dark-eyed beauties—sweet-souled singers that tell me what they all might have been had the missionaries taught them physiology and hygiene, and literary attainments. In church they are loaded with religion. In school the children are crammed with the geography and history of France.

Thus you see the white man's influence is fast running these helpless South Sea Islanders to the wall. The mountains used to be thickly populated, I judge, from finding so many ancient brier-covered paths while clearing land on my plantation. Now there's scarcely a single mountain-dweller left—afraid of ghosts. They often say to me, "Natura, look out, the too-pah-paos (ghosts) will get you." But I tell them if I see a too-pah-pao I will give him or her some of my fine bananas and tree melons. Then I sit down and have a chat—try to get them to help me in founding a co-operative nature colony. Six years in Tahiti has taught me that it's almost useless to preach to the natives any more, so I've devoted my missionary efforts (lately) almost exclusively to pick and shovel teaching on our nature-colony plantation. With my friendly brush-knife and well-sharpened hoe, along with a full supply of other instruments, I've made an impression up here in the Tahiti mountains that will make a more telling effect on the native's mind than a barrellful of bibles.

In the pictures I am sending, you will see the bright side only—the colored side that sells. If I had my own camera I would send you some of the dark, thorny, sharp stonyness that is the rule, not the



COMRADE DARLING.

exception. Paid tourist writers ride around in carriages, seeing only the front doors and smelling only the front yard flowers. They write home about Tahiti, the paradise. In my contributions I call it a sleeping paradise, with a heavy line under the sleeping.

It to me really is a paradise; now that I have an independent home, planted with fruits and nuts enough to feed me and ten more nature men if they should come. But I'd prefer to remain alone than be molested with the company of cooked-food companions again.

I wish to teach the natives to return to the good old simple life and simple diet of their fathers 100 years ago; teach them to save their hard-earned money, to purchase good books, good tools, that they could till their own land, and live in their own houses. I tell them to sell all the unoccupied mountain land they cannot, or will not use. Then, maybe, some day again Tahiti shall blossom as a rose.



BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Lesson VI. High Prices and Monopoly Prices

LAST month we considered Low Prices and their effect upon the working class. We discovered that, owing to the competition among wage-workers for jobs, wages are reduced (when prices fall) to just about the cost of living. In discussing Low Prices we have learned what would happen to B. (wages) as a result.

We are still speaking of commodities which exchange at their values.

Value of labor power

3 hours labor
A
necessities of life 1 day.

If A (or the VALUE of the necessities of life) is DOUBLED, the VALUE of your labor-power will also be doubled. Suppose A is doubled without B being increased accordingly—the value of food, clothing and shelter be twice what it was formerly and wages remain stationery.

WAGES

3 hours labor
B
gold or money.

Reformers will tell you that the grocer, the butcher, clothier and landlord are exploiting you. They say that your employer exploits you, but that when you

go to spend your wages these other men also cheat or rob you.

But if wages (B) do not rise to the same value as the necessities of life (A) this merely means that your boss is no LONGER PAYING you THE VALUE OF YOUR LABOR-POWER. The value of food, clothing and shelter DETERMINE the value of your labor-power.

Do not be confused into thinking because rents are "high," or because food is expensive that you are exploited when you pay for these things. As A increases in value your labor-power increases in value. And only when wages equal the cost of living are you receiving the value of your labor-power.

Shortage of workingmen may cause labor-power to exchange above its value temporarily; shortage or an over supply of any commodity may cause it to exchange above or below its value for a short time. But monopoly alone can cause a commodity to exchange above its value for any length of time. To repeat:

Reformers say: The wage worker receives his wages. That he is exploited by his employer. But when he goes to buy shoes, food, meat or clothes, he finds the owners of these commodities selling them at a higher price than he can pay. Then the reformers conclude that these merchants are exploiting the workers also. These people do not understand that the value of A (the necessities of life) DETERMINE wages.

Not all individual workingmen or women receive the value of their labor-power. Some men and women receive a little MORE than the value of labor-power. We know a young girl in this city who works in a department store for \$5.00 a week. She cannot buy food, clothing and shelter for \$5.00. Her brother receives \$18.00 a week. He can live on less than that sum. He helps his sister pay her

expenses. Thus both receive the value of their labor-power.

Men cannot work long upon less wages than the value of their labor-power. They must have help from without. Fortunate members of families help those who do not earn enough to live on. Thousands of families receive intermittent aid from charity organizations, so that, the working class, in general, receives just about the value of its labor-power. In other words, the army of *workers* receive enough to produce more workers for tomorrow and twenty years from now. It is the unemployed fighting for jobs who force wages down almost to the bare cost of living.

We see how an increase in the value of A means a consequent increase in the value of labor-power. We must not, therefore, berate the grocer, the butcher or landlord when our employers fail to pay us the value of our labor-power. We will be forced to demand higher wages in order to live.

But High Prices do not necessarily mean that the value of food, clothing, etc., have INCREASED in value. It may mean that gold—or the medium of exchange—has DECREASED in value.

The tendency of almost all commodities is to decrease in value, as modern production lessens the necessary labor contained in them. Gold may decrease in value faster than the value of other commodities decrease. The gold dollar has decreased in value faster than the value of meat, shoes, bread and clothing has decreased.

A is shrinking, but B (wages) are shrinking faster in value. Since gold (or wages) is out-decreasing the necessities of life, in value, it exchanges for fewer of them. One dollar buys less meat today than it bought five years ago.

Reformers are crying for Low Prices, but revolutionists are demanding Higher Wages (the value of their labor-power) in all the gold standard countries today. They are also working for the abolition of wage-slavery tomorrow. Everywhere we see wages slowly rising to meet the increased cost of living.

We have bewailed the High Prices, while prices are only nominally higher

than they were five years ago. Gold (or wages) has decreased in value considerably and as commodities tend to exchange at their values, gold buys fewer commodities.

We may still be receiving the same number of dollars each week, but the value of these dollars has decreased. ACTUALLY our wages have been reduced. Unless they enable us to buy the necessities of life we are not receiving the value of our labor-power from our employers.

1. An increase in the prices of the necessities of life may come from an increase in the VALUE of commodities. We shall have to receive an equal rise in wages if we are to get the value of our labor-power.

2. Wages (or gold) may decrease in value until they no longer will purchase A. Unless we receive MORE wages accordingly we will be receiving less than the value of our labor-power.

Monopoly Prices.

Now all through the preceding chapters I could hear, in imagination, the reformers crying, "But what about MONOPOLY prices?"

In the first place, there never was an absolute, permanent monopoly. There are steel mills in China, Japan, Mexico, England and Germany which will supply the American market if they can undersell the home product. China is now shipping steel rails into California at a lower price than the American mills supply them.

There are still many independent oil companies in many lands. Automobile service, electric car lines, aeroplanes, water courses, chutes and flumes all infringe upon the railroads. Whenever the railway charges become more than the traffic will bear, the manufacturer removes to another city.

Men may hope to gain permanent complete monopolies, but there is always the danger of somebody coming forth with a SUBSTITUTE. Some one is always providing substitutes.

No man was ever able to raise the general price of a commodity at will, and GET that price. If any man ever held such power, he would have charged an unlimited price for his commodity and

immediately assumed the world's dictatorship.

John D. Rockefeller may be able to raise the price on oil in certain communities but he cannot force men to buy at this price. So-called monopolists are subject to economic laws just as are wage-workers. No monopolist was ever so great a philanthropist that he did not charge all the traffic would bear at all times. We see, therefore, that they cannot raise prices at their own sweet will.

No man ever held a near-monopoly but what other capitalists with money to invest turned ever longing eyes upon the Golden Goose ready to produce a substitute that will relegate his rival's product to the Past.

But there are some very near monopolies in the United States. Some of these doubtless are able to sell—or exchange—their commodities ABOVE their value. A few of these are engaged in the production of food, clothing or houses.

Now it does not mean because a monopolist holds temporary control of a commodity that he will raise the price of that commodity. He will surely seek to lower its value by closing down unnecessary factories and installing improved machinery that will lessen the labor contained in his product. Many "monopoly" owned commodities sell at a LOWER price than they did before they were monopoly produced.

If a monopoly-produced commodity exchanges at its value, under the new method of production, its prices would be lower. Many friends assure me that OIL is much cheaper today than it was twenty or thirty years ago, before John D. began to build the Octopus. If a monopolist continues to sell a commodity at the same price it exchanged for formerly, he will be able to appropriate greatly increased profits, for its value will have DECREASED—perhaps 50 per cent.

But we will take an extreme case to illustrate who pays the increased price where an imaginary Octopus DOUBLES the PRICE of the necessities of life.

Let us suppose that

500 miners are receiving \$5.00 a day, working a copper mine in Alaska. Five dollars just affords them a comfortable, or tolerable living in Alaska. The man who owns the food and clothing supply in Alaska at this time has a temporary monopoly—an absolute, temporary monopoly of these necessities.

This man finds he actually can double the prices on these necessities for one season. The cost of living in Alaska rises to \$10.00 a day.

The EMPLOYER of the miners will be obliged to DOUBLE their wages if the miners are to receive the value of their labor-power as formerly. He will need to pay \$10.00 a day if he expects to have men to work for him tomorrow. If the mine-owner finds \$10.00 in wages will leave no profits for him, he will refuse the increase and shut down the mine; the miners will return South and the Monopolist will find himself without a market. The possibility of such a contingency has always to be reckoned with by every "monopolist." There is always the danger of killing the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg.

You see how if the price of A is DOUBLED, wages will need to follow and as B (wages) are increased there remains less surplus value for the employer to appropriate.

The monopolist, in this case, who has been able to DOUBLE the price on the necessities of life and cause our wages to be doubled will have FORCED our mine-owning employer to DIVIDE this surplus value with him.

Note figure C. If the portion returned to us in wages is doubled, there will be just that much less unpaid labor for our employer to keep. The extra portion paid to US will be paid over to the monopolist.

Monopoly generally means that the

Your product one day	
NINE HOURS of LABOR	value returned
C	to you in
	wages.
	3 hrs of labor

monopolist is strong enough to force other employers of labor to DIVIDE with him a portion of the value of our products formerly appropriated by them.

The real fight is between the MONOPOLIST and the MINE-OWNING employer who will do all in his power to "smash the Trusts."

The mine owner in this instance may offer us \$9.00 a day and we may try to live on \$9.00 for a few weeks. We will be unable to do it because we will be receiving LESS than the value of our labor-power.

Questions.

Do the Trusts rob the wage-workers when selling them Trust-made products?

Can a monopoly sell its product at the same price as the independent concern and make a bigger percent of profit? Why?

What are three causes for a rise in Prices? Explain.

There are more factories producing barrels this year than last year. All these owners are competing with each other to sell hoops and staves. But the prices of hoops and staves have risen everywhere. Why? Has the value increased? Precisely the same methods of production prevail in the hoop and stave industry as formerly.

Also the wages of men and women working in the hundreds of small factories all over the United States have risen during the past year or two. There are many men and women out of employment but they have not reduced wages at these points by competing for jobs, although they are always in the market offering to sell their labor-power. Even men out of work are asking MORE for their labor-power than they asked a few years ago.

Why are wages rising at these points and everywhere in general. Why are men who are out of work asking more for their labor-power?

There are no Trusts in China—yet. Prices of the necessities of life are extremely low. Do "low prices" in a country necessarily mean the working class is any better off than where "high prices" prevail?

Suppose one landlord owned all the ground and cottages rented to working-men in one city. Suppose all these men worked in a factory at this point. Suppose the landlord raised the rent on cottages from \$10 to \$30. If the workmen had been receiving just about the value of their labor-power before, what would happen when rents were raised? Who would actually pay the increase?

THE TEXAS PROGRAM

BY

NAT L. HARDY

Two years ago the Socialist movement in Texas was torn up with one of these organization rows that from time to time disrupts the party in different states; paralyzes propaganda, produces pessimism and turns loyal comrades into bitter enemies, while capitalist politicians laugh at the "fool Socialists."

It had arisen over nothing of any consequence to the state movement as a whole, but owing to the way the party was or-

ganized, allowing a state committee to take control of local affairs, it had spread throughout the party. The work of organization was worse than at a standstill—it was on the decline everywhere except in the western part of the state, where county organizations had been spontaneously formed and were carrying on the work with little regard for the state organization.

About this time Thos. A. Hickey, a

veteran in the movement, who had had much experience in party rows, arrived at state headquarters and outlined a plan of organization to W. J. Bell, who was then state secretary, that he claimed would make general disruptions impossible if put into practice. Bell was convinced and set to work drafting a constitution along that line. J. L. Hicks, editor of the *Farmers Journal*, opened the columns of his paper for the discussion of the subject. The result was that as soon as the constitution was submitted to referendum vote it was almost unanimously adopted.

The new constitution contained the following provisions in addition to county autonomy: All candidates for political offices to be nominated by referendum vote, all state party officials are required to retire at the end of two terms of one year each, and county and state committees have no functions except to fulfill legal-political requirements. The state and county secretaries are the only executive party officers and they are directly responsible to the rank and file without the interference of meddling committees.

Four days prior to the adoption of the new constitution E. R. Meitzen, also a friend of the program, was elected state secretary. Besides the delicate task of bringing about peace and harmony out of strife and disorder, he had another difficulty to meet. The constitution as adopted did not provide for a division of the state dues with the county organizations. He foresaw that without the sinews of war the vital feature of the program—county autonomy—would remain little more than a theory. A referendum was submitted, and adopted, dividing the 10 cents per month state dues equally with properly bonded county secretaries.

This has proven a good investment to the state office. Not only has it saved time and postage; but it has distributed the executive power, accelerated organization and the resultant gain in membership has more than repaid the state office for the seeming loss in funds.

The membership has doubled, over fifty counties have been organized and the receipts of the state office have increased thirty per cent. But the greatest gain has been in the peace that has reigned in the party since the adoption of the complete program—with no breakers in sight.

The autonomous county organizations are left to do their own work in their own way; adapting their propaganda to local conditions, settling their own disputes and depending on themselves rather than a centralized state organization. Several instances have been reported where local disturbances have arisen, that were equally serious as the one that was the genesis of the late state-wide row, but were settled without spreading beyond the county boundary lines, because there was no outside power to interfere.

One of the chief benefits has been the increased activity of the rank and file. The work is brought right home to them and they take more interest in party affairs.

The results have been great and no conceivable power could force the membership of Texas to go back to the old centralized form of organization that has caused so much strife, bitterness and disorganization in the past. On our banner we have inscribed this slogan:

"Socialism means democracy and democracy must reveal itself in our form of organization; and democracy and decentralization are synonymous terms."

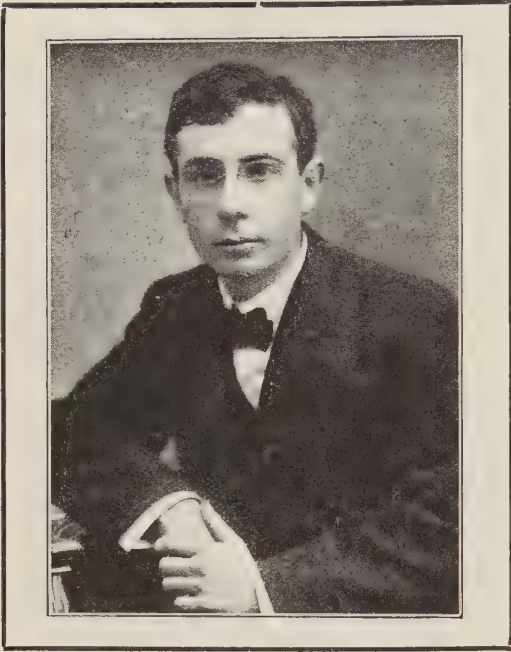


CENSORSHIP

The Same Being a Recital of Some Facts on the Ways of Capitalist Publishing Houses

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

Author of *History of the Great American Fortunes*.

SINCE the publication of my "History of the Great American Fortunes," a number of solicitous requests have been sent to me asking me to make public certain letters from capitalist publishing firms—letters to which I refer ironically in a footnote in the closing pages of Vol. III.

For nearly ten years I have carefully cherished these letters. Now that I have decided to publish at least two of them it is only because of the moral that they convey. They will serve to throw illumination upon the methods and esoteric processes of thought of some of those noble disseminators of knowledge—the powerful capitalist publishing houses of New York. Even more, they will reveal —

what may be a surprise to many readers—that the recent Morganizing of the magazines is simply a culmination of a long-continuing, although gradual, campaign of silencing the press—whether publishing, newspaper, periodical or magazine. So long as the end sought was accomplished, it did not especially matter what the nature of the means employed was. If timidity and cowardice were inculcated in the mind of the publisher, the ultimate purpose was served equally as well as by the power of social and financial influence. The truckling to ruling class power and the indisposition to offend or alienate it were as effective, in the whole, as the fear of reprisal or direct money control of the publishers. Many roads may lead to the same destination.

At the time that these letters were written I was not a Socialist. I was in the "reformer" stage of my career—a fact well known to the writers of the letters. My "History of Tammany Hall" had just been published—a work, by the way, that a number of publishers approved of but decided not to publish on the ground, as one of them frankly and inelegantly wrote, that he "did not care to lock horns with Tammany." Hence, not being a Socialist at the period that I conceived the idea of writing a work on the great American fortunes, there could have been no fear on the part of the publishers that such a work would contain any Socialist interpretation. I did not become a convinced Socialist until the end of 1904, at which time I joined the Socialist party. Parenthetically, I may say that I am now glad that I did not write "The History of the Great American Fortunes" before I came to an understanding of the Socialist philosophy and aims. Had I done so the work would have lacked comprehension and perceptive treatment of the facts.

However, the fact that I was then only a "reformer" makes the appended letters all the more significant. The first of these, dated November 12, 1901—Exhibit A—was from a long-established New York publishing house, the head of which has been a member of fashionable "reform" organizations; has served as foreman of a noted grand jury which exposed Tammany corruption; and altogether is a highly respectable citizen.

Exhibit A.

"My dear Sir—

"I am obliged to you for the suggestion in your favor of the 11th inst. concerning the publication of the volume you have in plan which would present a *History of the Origin of Private Fortunes*. I judge that such a volume, prepared with adequate knowledge of the material to be considered, and with proper literary skill, ought to prove of no little popular interest. I doubt, however, whether _____ would be the best people to handle effectively such a book as you have in mind. It seems to me (and I find on this point my partners are in accord with me) that if the narratives were presented with accuracy, they must, of necessity, contain certain statements on data which would be considered objectionable by the present representatives of the families concerned. _____ (his firm) would be unwilling to print any book which could be criticized as incorrect, as attempting to "whitewash" certain more or less unsavory careers.

"They would also, however, be unwilling to associate their imprint with any volumes which would give cause for offense to living persons who are, as a rule, entirely free from responsibility in regard to the actions of their ancestors.

"As a practical example, it would not be possible to present the career of Jay Gould without describing in pretty plain English certain noteworthy undertakings in which he was concerned. On the other hand, we should be entirely unwilling to print anything that could possibly cause

offense to his daughter, Helen Gould, who is one of the best citizens in this country.

"It seems to us that this difficulty is fatal, as far at least as our connection with such a work is concerned. It is very possible that some more enterprising or less scrupulous House might be ready to give favorable consideration to the plan. I am.

"Yours faithfully,"

The second letter, Exhibit B, dated November 23, 1901, was from another large New York City publishing house which, for the last few years, has, in addition to publishing books, issued an "uplift" magazine. Note the fine attempt to hold out to me the financial rewards that would follow from presenting an eulogy of the founders and beneficiaries of the great fortunes.

Exhibit B.

"Dear Mr. Myers:

"I have been talking with my partners about your proposed book, and we all feel that there's a *possibility* for a volume on the subject you mention. Our chief fear is that it would be of such a nature in some cases—notably that of Jay Gould—as to get us into a good deal of trouble. The most interesting point about it, commercially, would be its bearing on the idea of American achievement and the suggestion to the ambitious man of today as to how great fortunes have been made—and I know this is by no means the interesting part to you. Why not go ahead and lay out a very complete list of chapters, making the headings as full as possible, so that we can get an idea of the way in which you treat the subject; you might also write a chapter. If you can send us these, we can probably be much more definite.

Very truly yours,"

By way of conclusion I may add that I wasted no time replying to either of these letters.

THE LAKE SEAMEN

BY

FRANK CATTELL, Member of the Lake Seamen's Union

ROBERT CORCORAN, the Marine Union Fireman, has at last been found guilty of cutting off the ear of a scab fireman named Fraser on the night of June 27th last. The trial lasted over two weeks and the jury were out six hours. Nine ballots were taken. Daniel Cruice, the well-known Chicago lawyer, defended the accused. An appeal for a new trial is now being made.

This case is the outgrowth of the war on the Marine Unions by the Steel Trust, alias the Lake Carriers' Association. The fight has been waged for three years and the end is not yet in sight.

During this time a score of union men have been murdered in cold blood by the hired assassins of the Shipping Trust. Brutal murders of union men are followed by prompt acquittals of the hired butchers. While union men, innocent of any crime, are arrested on some trumped-up charge, thrown into jail and railroaded to the penitentiary as victims of craft unionism.

Over a score of boats have been sunk, hundreds of accidents have occurred as a result of incompetent crews on these vessels.

Corcoran was convicted on the unsupported testimony of a pimp who acknowledged on the witness stand that he had never done a day's work in his life and had lived in a house of prostitution for the past three years.

Corcoran took the stand, denied being in the vicinity on the night of the crime and had a dozen witnesses to support him. In spite of all they could do the prosecution was unable to shake his testimony or that of his witnesses.

Four union men were arrested in New York and brought back to Buffalo, charged with this crime: Robert Corcoran, Joseph Myers, Harry Millan and John Norton. Myers has already been sentenced to serve from six to thirteen years in Auburn prison. An appeal to



ROBERT CORCORAN

the Supreme Court for him is pending. Norton and Millan have been in jail over seven months and have not been tried yet.

These workingmen are innocent and everybody knows it. But the Steel Trust is determined to smash the Marine Unions and hopes to do so by bankrupting them through defending the men arrested on false charges.

These men are victims of craft unionism. They would never have gone to jail if the unions in Buffalo had raised a protest. Debs offered to come here and hold a protest meeting, but the unions laid down for fear they would offend the Powers that Boss. They decided it would be the best policy to go around quietly and collect a few paltry dollars to pay a lawyer to defend their brothers. The business agent of the Central Labor Body had sons holding down political jobs.

It is not the leaders who do the picket-

ing or who go up against the guns of Corporation detectives. They take no risks. As Debs says, they are cowards and lack the courage to stand up at the front and if these leaders believe in craft unionism and are honest about it, let them furnish the corpses as well as draw the salaries. Let them have some of the hardships as well as banquets with plutocratic lords under the prostituted auspices of the Civic Federation, where the triumphs of craft unionism are lauded to the skies.

The Lake Unions engaged in this struggle have put up a heroic fight against tremendous odds. This is one of the hardest fought battles that ever occurred in this or any other country.

It is not the SCABS that have defeated the unions, but the craft unions themselves. In 1904 the Masters and Pilots went on strike and the remainder of the unions stayed at work, in consequence of which the Masters and Pilots were defeated.

In 1906 the Mates, Firemen and Longshoremen went on strike and the union Sailors and Cooks stayed at work because they had contracts which they have been taught to believe are "sacred." They watched their brothers go down to defeat.

In the spring of 1909 the Lake Carriers' Association demanded that every man employed on their vessels take out what they called "a welfare book." In this book was recorded degree of ability, description of physical traits, and character of the man. The book cost him one dollar. It was to be turned over to the captain of the vessel on which the man shipped. If he quit the boat or complained in any way of the treatment accorded him, or the captain did not like his looks, his book was withheld and he was forever barred from sailing on the lakes again.

The men were to get the benefits from being possessors of this book when they were dead, when the Bosses promised to bury them, provided they were obedient slaves during their lives.

The unions protested, seeing this move threatened their very existence, and the Seamen, Cooks, Firemen and Engineers called a strike. But the other crafts, be-

ing composed of "good union men" and not wishing to offend their masters by breaking their contract, stayed at work. So we have the spectacle of Union Tugmen towing ships loaded with scabs; union grain scoopers helping scabs to unload grain and union dredgemen digging deeper channels so that scab boats can navigate safely. The engineers have been completely wiped out and the seamen, firemen and cooks are being supported by the seamen on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

Money cannot win this fight. For every dollar the unions can contribute, the Trust can and will contribute a million. Only through an industrial organization composed of everybody employed in the transportation industry and recognizing their class interests and that an injury to one is an injury to all, can this fight be won?

The rank and file are ready for such an organization, but the so-called leaders keep them apart. President Conners of the Longshoremen's Union, is a member of the Executive Board of the Militia of Christ, an organization formed by the Capitalist Class and composed of labor leaders, or labor skinners to preach the Identity of Interest between Slave and Master and to fight Socialism.

It will be a great day for the working class and a bad day for the leaders when the unions wake up and recognize how they have been fooled:

The unbearable conditions aboard the ships have caused the scabs themselves to revolt and they are now joining the unions in a body. The latest rule of the Trust, of withholding one-tenth of the pay of every man until the close of the season has finally convinced the strike-breakers that working for the vessel trust means absolute slavery.

Only the men who remain till the close of the season are entitled to receive this 10 per cent. In other words, any man who quit for any reason or who is fired, will be docked 10 per cent of his total wages. No matter how wretched the conditions aboard his boat may be, he will have no means of protesting and he will not dare quit unless he wishes to lose one-tenth of his earnings. And the man who quits will be blacklisted for life.

SCIENTIFIC BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

What is it? What effect will it have on the Revolutionary Movement?

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

ECONOMY, efficiency, scientific management — these are the watchwords of the latter-day capitalism. Not only in great industrial establishments, but in city, state and national government the economy and efficiency cry is heard.

Regardless of the fact that wealth is piling up so rapidly that "over-production" and panics are the result, the capitalists of the country are striving for a larger output and greater efficiency, unconcerned as to what the outcome may be, so far as it effects the working class.

For months the capitalist papers have been making much of this improved method of getting the very last bit of labor out of the workers. Syndicated articles are being published in all the big Sunday papers. I will quote from one of these articles written by William H. Evans, after which we will note the tendency and draw conclusions from the standpoint of the Revolutionary Movement. Evans says:

"Five years ago such a thing as scientific management was unknown. Today, while it is still in its infancy, there are nearly one hundred industrial plants working under this system and they employ more than 50,000 workmen. The variety and diversity of the industries involved are wonderful, ranging through structural work, including building work, bricklaying, concrete construction, moulding and casting, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, printing, bookbinding, accounting, clerical work, blast furnaces, plate mills, armorplate, forging, toolmaking, firearms, and a score of other diversified work."

Evans says the workers have been producing about twice as much under the new system as compared with the old,

and that "costs a unit of output have been reduced, and profits have increased very materially." He says the workers (who happen to be employed) under scientific management are receiving much higher wages and he adds: "In the entire list of industries under scientific management there has not been a single strike. This was shown in Philadelphia's big car strike a year ago, when thousands of industries shut down as a result of the sympathetic strike. In one plant under the new system, which employed over 7,000 men, only seventeen quit work."

"The man," declares Evans, "who is responsible for this great change, which in time will sweep the country from end to end, is Frederick W. Taylor, for years a consulting engineer of Philadelphia, who completely revolutionized the art of cutting metals and who has since retired. He experimented for thirty years before he reduced his scheme of scientific management to a practical plan. While he has retired from active work, scores of men who worked under him are spreading the new business gospel throughout the land."

Taylor's plan, it is stated, is based on four great principles: "First, the application of scientific knowledge to replace rule of thumb knowledge which existed in the past; second, the selection of workmen and the development of each to his highest state of efficiency and prosperity; third, bringing the scientifically selected and developed workman and his work together; fourth, the almost equal division of the whole work between the workmen on the one side and the management on the other."

The scheme is no theoretical affair which some individual or group of individuals want to sell to the capitalists, but

a workable plan which pays: Facts are given. Evans continues:

"The most interesting illustration of scientific management is shown in bricklaying, probably the oldest of the trades. It is essentially elemental. The implements and the mortar and the method of laying bricks have not materially changed in 2,000 years. Frank B. Gilbreth, a large contractor, becoming interested in scientific management, went to Mr. Taylor and was assured that it applied to bricklaying just as much as it did to other more complex employments. Gilbreth and his wife studied the situation for two years. They discovered that the bricklayer went through eighteen motions in laying a single brick. A man had to stoop and pick up the brick which had to be picked out of a tangled pile. He then threw it into the air to get a good grip on it, then he had to examine the four edges, so as to pick out the smoothest side for the outside of the building. This involved three motions. Several other motions were gone through before the brick was placed in the mortar. Gilbreth put in an adjustable scaffold, with a table in the middle of it. Cheaper workmen piled up the bricks with the right side up and mortar was tempered so that the weight of the brick brought it to its proper resting place. Briefly, he reduced the eighteen motions down to five per brick and in some cases to two.

"Then he found himself up against the labor union. His plan was correct, but the bricklayers could not see the advantage of setting twice the number of bricks for the same amount of pay. He went before them and told them that bricklaying was becoming a lost art and that he had five re-enforced concrete contracts to one of brick. He showed them unless something was done the bricklayers would be out of jobs. He got the consent of the union to experiment. He promptly hired men at \$6.50 a day instead of \$4.50, the union rate, but told the men that they would have to lay bricks the way he wanted them. In a short time his men were laying 350 bricks an hour, as opposed to 120, which was the record in Boston before his experiments.

One of the most revolutionizing and

profitable of Taylor's experiments was at the Bethlehem steel works. Taylor developed what he called the "science of shoveling." He figured that there must be some particular shovel load at which any "first-class man" would do the biggest day's work. What was that load? he thought. Three first-class shovelers were selected. They were told that their pay would be doubled, but that they would have to do just as they were ordered. Several experiments were made, and, finally, it was discovered that somewhere between twenty-one and twenty-two pounds a shovelful was a load that permitted the first-class shoveler to do the biggest day's work. There were 600 laborers in the yard, which is two and a half miles long and a half mile wide. In order to do the shoveling necessary, ten different shovels were made for the various kinds of work.

As each man reported in the morning he took two pieces of paper from a rack, one showing what he had done the previous day and the other detailing his work for the day and the man to report to. Each man was treated as an individual, and his record watched, instead of treating the 600 as a gang. A teacher showed him how to do his work and this instructor had nothing else to do but instruct. There was a huge map of the yards which showed where every man was and what he was doing. The gang of laborers was broken up so that there were never more than two men working together. Even during these first years of experimentation, it is shown, the process was highly profitable to Charles Schwab and the Steel Trust, of which he is a part. Evans says:

"Where it cost seven cents a ton to handle the average materials, the new plan cost three cents a ton. The men's wages were increased from \$1.15 to \$1.85 a day (nothing is said about the increase in the cost of living) and the number of workmen reduced from 400 to 600 to 140. The saving on the part of the company was between \$75,000 to \$80,000 a year."

Taylor also experimented at the Bethlehem plant with the men carrying pig iron. The men in carrying the "pigs" walked a hundred feet or so. The best

record was seventeen tons a day. Taylor used stop watches in an effort to find out the time it took. Finally two or three men were selected and told when to carry and when to stop. *In less than a week these men were averaging forty-eight tons a day.* Their wages were also increased to the princely sum of \$1.85 a day.

Another experiment was made with young women who inspected bicycle balls. There were 126 girls employed. The girls were working ten and a half hours a day, and yet when it was put to a vote whether they would do the same work in ten hours, every girl voted for the longer period. They were finally persuaded, and in a short time were doing the same work in eight hours. As a result of further experimentation only one-fourth of the girls were retained. These girls were instructed when to work and when to rest, and in eight hours they soon were doing four times more work than had been done in ten and a half hours. For this enormous increase in efficiency, the girls that were retained were given an increase in wages, Evans hastens to explain.

In the application of scientific management in the plant of the Link Belt Company in Philadelphia, the firm saved \$43 a week by paying two boys \$5 apiece per week to carry water to the men.

In scientific management, according to its leading exponents, "the mass of knowledge hitherto owned by the workmen is classified, tabulated and reduced to laws and mathematical formulas. The management in the old days put up the work to the men. Nowadays the actual doing of the work is up to the management as well as to the men. As an instance, in one shop under scientific management there are now twenty-nine managers and seventy workmen. Under the old system there were 126 men and two managers. Every movement of every man becomes, under scientific management, the subject of scientific study and analysis and then of reduction to laws."

Harrington Emerson is another "efficiency engineer." He is the man who first said that the railroads could save a million dollars a day if they wished to. He also says that, under the present system of managing the industries, labor is

thirty-three per cent. inefficient and capital seventy per cent inefficient. He means by that that the workers could do thirty-three per cent more than they do and that the management (though this management may not own a cent's worth of stock in the industries which it directs) is seventy per cent short of what it could accomplish under the new system of working the workers. Emerson deplores what he calls "the colossal waste in our business methods." His business is to inspect other people's business—and he gets well paid for it—and to tell them how the efficiency of their business may be increased.

Strange as it may seem, while the capitalist system has reached a point where it can only perpetuate itself through waste, the capitalists of this country, unmindful of this fact, so far as the class is concerned, are doing all in their power to increase the individual output of the worker. But it is this fact that Marx had in mind when he said the capitalists were their own grave-diggers. Through this system of scientific management "over-production" will become a chronic condition of capitalism—already it is in some industries—panics will appear oftener and remain longer and unemployment will more and more loom up as the mightiest of problems.

Where scientific management is applied unionism is crushed—that is the craft form of unionism. With the "bonus" system of "rewarding the worthy and efficient workmen," and with the more intimate connection with managers and foremen, labor organization will be more and more threatened.

The outlook at first thought seems somewhat hopeless from the standpoint of the working class. But it isn't. It is only becoming more and more hopeless from the standpoint of perpetuating the present order. It is simply creating in the minds of an ever increasing number of workers the hopelessness of existence as long as the capitalist system lasts. The few who may have the good luck to be employed, even though they struggle, are becoming more and more powerless in the face of the advancing forces of the Social Revolution. With this hopelessness in capitalism, there develops a class-

confidence as well as a class-consciousness.

More and more the idea of a cataclysmic transformation of society grips the workers' minds and as they become enthused with the thought, their power increases. And with this development the old ideology loses its power to dominate, the gulf between the classes becomes wider, the conservative craft union leaders will no longer retain the power to prevent revolutionary action, and a revolutionary economic base will have been reached.

For every weapon that the masters forge to keep the masses in submission and weaken their power of organization, a more deadly one is created which shall be turned against themselves. They may consciously hurry on the process which is destroying craft union power and they may tear away the foundation upon which group interests of every character rests, but they cannot, however hard or consciously they try, tear away the foundation upon which the interests of the revolutionary working class lie. Madly or carefully they will attempt it, but in doing so they are hurrying themselves to their own destruction. They will rush to their own graves where they will be pushed in by an enlightened and an organized working class.

Personally, I am of the opinion that the final blow to the capitalist system will be struck here in America before Europe. Karl Liebknecht and other well-known Socialists across the water, tell us that the workers of America will lead the world, but the reasons they give are only a few. They only see the surface. The old romantic ideal of political democracy, which, at bottom chiefly is a middle class ideal, is not troubling the workers of this country. It is essentially Industrial Democracy—Socialism—that they are concerned with.

True, we haven't made the material progress in the building up of a revolutionary movement that some European countries have. But this backwardness is only apparent. Since the revolutionary

movement of the workers is a class movement, no isolated wing of the workers can advance and hold the position gained very long and still retain a militant attitude. Therefore, we see the inevitable spontaneity of action. The entire class must move. Skirmishes will and must take place and the progress of these skirmishes must be more psychological than material. They act as a training school for revolutionists and the revolution. In view of this, how prophetic are the words of Marx when he said:

"The Proletarian Movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority." And further, "the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent structure of official society being sprung into the air." Then again this bold, penetrating statement:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class—a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument; this integument is burst asunder; the knell of capitalist private property sounds; the expropriators are expropriated."

There is nothing here that indicates that Socialism will be the result of a long series of slow changes from the present system to the new one. Besides, how true is this sweeping analysis of present-day industrial life—especially in this country!

POISONING THE WORKERS IN MATCH FACTORIES

BY

FREDERICK SUMNER

IN 1909 our United States Bureau of Labor, evidently stimulated by the stories circulating about "phossy jaw" in the match factories, made a great noise about inspecting these institutions. With the accustomed expedition which inspectors usually show in such cases, the work was "pressed forward," but seemed never to get anywhere, but before its completion, the American Association for Labor Legislation began an independent investigation and I think they relieved the over-worked (?) inspectors from further responsibility.

There were sixteen match factories in the United States in which white phosphorus was used. The workers in them were consistently and continuously poisoned. Of the nearly 4,000 workers employed over 65 per cent were exposed to the action of the poison. Ninety-five per cent of the women and 83 per cent of the children employed were constantly exposed.

The investigation disclosed over 100 cases of poisoning in a very short time, although the manufacturers claimed the disease had not existed in this country for over twenty years. In one small factory, records were secured of more than twenty cases of poisoning, many of which were so bad that they required the removal of an entire jaw.

In one of the more modern establishments, records of forty cases of phosphorus poisoning were secured. Of this number fifteen resulted in permanent deformity through the loss of one or BOTH jaws, and several cases resulted in death. In another establishment records of twenty-one cases were secured.

The process in the manufacture of matches is simple. The wooden match splint is prepared; the phosphorus composition for the head of the match is mixed; one end of the splint is dipped into this paste. The green match is al-

lowed to dry, and finally, it is boxed and wrapped.

Poisoning from phosphorus has many evil effects. The daily breathing of air laden with phosphorous fumes, and the continual contact with the particles of phosphorus, result in a gradual lowering of vitality which, in turn, invites other forms of disease.

Phosphorous necrosis (phossy jaw), is caused by the absorption of phosphorus through the teeth or gums. Minute particles of phosphorus usually enter through the cavities of decayed teeth, setting up an inflammation which, if not quickly arrested, extends along the jaw, killing the teeth and bones.

The gums become swollen and purple, the teeth loosen and drop out and the jaw-bones slowly decompose and pass away in the form of nauseating pus, which sometimes breaks through the neck in the form of an abscess, or, if not



almost continually washed out, oozes into the mouth, where it mixes with the saliva and is swallowed.

Treatment is largely preventive, but when the disease is once contracted, a serious surgical operation is often the only means of arresting the process of decay. In many instances of poisoning it is necessary to remove an entire jaw, and in several cases both jaws have been removed at a single operation.

The records of two or three cases show how terrible are its ravages:

Annie B. contracted phosphorous necrosis, which caused the loss of an eye, as well as of her upper jaw; and finally, after terrible suffering, resulted in her death.

In the same factory a doctor saw a "disgusting object—an old man, with teeth rotted out, pus oozing from the sockets, and with necrosed bone protruding from the gums."

Maria O., a strong and healthy girl had worked for several years as a packer in a match factory. Eight years ago, at the age of twenty, she married, but continued to work in the factory. Two months later she commenced to have trouble with her teeth. Dr. T. first treated her, beginning with the first operation Nov. 15, 1901. He performed a second operation Aug. 11, 1903, removing several large splinters of bone from her jaw. She grew no better, and, finally, as the trouble continued, she went to Drs. V. and N. for further medical aid. She is receiving treatment from them at this time.

Three years ago an abscess opened through her right jaw, and one year ago, another opened on the left. Both required

constant bandaging. When the writer saw her in December, 1909, she was scarcely able to open her lips enough to speak, and could not separate her upper from her six remaining lower teeth. All of her lower teeth, except the middle six, have come out, and several inches of the jaw bone are bare, with pus oozing from the sockets. She has a boy six years old and a baby⁴ but two years old.

The record of weekly earnings of employes in the fifteen factories, indicate that the dangers connected with the work did not make it necessary to pay high wages. Twenty-three and twenty-six tenths per cent of the 1,888 males receive less than \$6.00 a week and only 33.52 per cent earned \$10 or more. Of the 1,278 females, 53.75 per cent earned under \$6.00, and only 4.47 per cent earned \$10 or more.

Since this data has been gathered, we hear that the uniform publicity given these atrocities by the Socialist and labor press all over the United States has worked to some good results at last. And we are able to conclude this article with the news that the Diamond Match Company has thrown open its patent on sesquisulphide to all who care to use it.

This act looks very generous but their rights expire anyway in three years. When the prohibitive legislation was carried in England, the Act made it compulsory that the Diamond Match Company (which owned the patent in that country also), grant its use to other manufacturers on reasonable terms. The same provision is included in the Canadian bill introduced a few days ago by W. L. Mackenzie King, Commissioner of Labor.



SOLIDARITY WINS IN FRESNO

BY

PRESS COMMITTEE

BECAUSE we tried to organize the workers in Fresno, the authorities denied us the streets for agitation meetings. After persecuting our members for their activity; after throwing them into jail and subjecting them to the greatest brutality and passing a city ordinance denying the rights of free speech, the authorities have turned around and granted us all these things for which we have been fighting. Hereafter we shall be permitted to speak on the streets unmolested and unrestricted.

How was this victory accomplished? The answer is simple. Two hundred workingmen, roused by acts of violence against the organization of which they were members, moved on to Fresno from various points on the Pacific Coast to fight the Capitalist enemies. They realized that if our organizers were not to be permitted to speak and agitate, they would be seriously hampered in the work of organization for the great, approaching conflict. From first to last both sides of the struggle clearly recognized Class Lines and freely admitted them. One of the most intelligent members of the opposition stated in an early stage of the struggle that this was a skirmish in a great war.

Antiquated methods were generally abandoned. It was decided that no money should be wasted on lawyers to expound the meaning of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. However, the court was used effectively for propaganda. Trial after trial was held and each time our position was presented to a crowded court room, by some member of the group on trial. Incidentally about 500 residents of Fresno, chiefly business men, were summoned to serve on juries. Not one of these was so disloyal to his class as to "hang a jury." Workingmen were promptly challenged by the prosecuting attorney. They might not have been so pliable.

The antagonism with the local press with its malicious misrepresentation, per-

fectly reflected the attitude of the employing class in Fresno. But our appeals for aid, made only to the working class, found a ready response. Perfect discipline was maintained inside the jail. Things were kept in a sanitary condition. Educational work was carried on systematically. The fight was directed throughout by the men in jail. The outside work was executed by an outside committee, also directed by the imprisoned men. Funds contributed were spent economically and to the best advantage.

Experience gained in past skirmishes taught us to concentrate all our forces at the point of controversy. As the fight progressed and our resistance became more stubborn, it dawned upon the enemy that a prolonged fight would bankrupt the city treasury. The police power was broken; the courts were clogged to a standstill. Day and night sessions were unable to dispose of the cases coming up.

Open threats were constantly made by business men and members of the underworld to wipe us out by an armed force. Bloodshed was freely predicted. Mob violence was used regularly against our street speakers. The jail was crowded; no more men could be received. At this critical moment, fresh bodies of men started from various points in the West. Some came from points as far away as St. Louis. The enemy were at their wits end. As the leading daily paper stated editorially:

"Here was a body of men who reversed all the ordinary motives governing mankind." In this editorial, all citizens were urged to keep cool. The past excesses of the authorities were censured and our organization acknowledged better than their own.

On February 22nd the leading citizens of Fresno assembled to seriously consider the situation. A committee was appointed to investigate; to learn *our* terms of settlement and report back. Our committee, instructed by the men in jail, met the town committee, and after five days of

conferences the city body recommended the granting of our demands. The fight was over. As fast as legal papers could be drawn up, prisoners were released and at this writing, Sunday, March 5th, 1911, the Fresno Free Speech Fight has passed into history. This statement is authorized by members of the I. W. W. released from jail.

* * * * *

March 5th witnessed the surrender of the city of Fresno, in the free speech fight to the fighting brigade of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The ending of the Fresno fight marks the third victory of the I. W. W. in its fights to maintain the supposed "right" (?) of free speech and assemblage. A right that is popularly supposed to be one of the basic and unshakable pillars of this glorious land of "freedom" (?).

Events in the past few years, however, have proven that this right (?) in common with many others is a delusion so far as the working class is concerned.

The Fresno fight furnished a remarkable example of courage and determination on the part of the men engaged in the struggle.

In the fall of 1909 the agitation for organization carried on by local No. 66, I. W. W., began to bear fruit. An organization of the despised "common" laborer was in a fair way to be realized. The employers of labor began to feel the effects of organized effort on the part of their hitherto powerless slaves. The sample did not by any means please them and they set about to put an end to the work of organization.

Members of Local 66 who were active in the work were subjected to the studied indignities of the police officials. They were arrested and ordered to leave town without any other pretext than the will of the employers. Finally they were ordered to stop speaking on the streets, and one of the members was convicted of "vagrancy" by a packed jury of "respectable" citizens.

The fight was on. It began October 16, 1909, after a call had been sent to all locals for volunteers to carry on the fight. After two weeks the fight was temporarily called off owing to difficulty that the members experienced in getting over the road. The reinforcements were handi-

capped in reaching Fresno by the activities of the Bulls along the route. For being proletarians they were forced to travel by way of the "side door Pullman," and the bulls along the road assisted the Fresno sluggers all they could.

On November 26 the fight was reopened. Headquarters were established outside of town with a tent and a commissary to take care of the recruits as they arrived and to enable them to get a square meal before going up against John Law.

From November 26 to March 2 the struggle was waged with varying intensity and dogged persistence by the members. Inside and outside the jail the organization was perfected. The cost began to pile up on the dear taxpayers. It was but a question of getting sufficient numbers into action.

For three months 85 members were in jail and but a few of them had been given any trial. Finally a police judge discovered that no law was being broken, and discharged a member who was before him for trial. All in jail were released. It looked as if the fight was won. But not so. If there is no law abolishing freedom of speech and assemblage in Fresno "we will soon alter that," resolved the employing class. Consequently an ordinance was framed and passed making it "unlawful" for a worker to do anything in Fresno, except work hard for the boss. Again the fight was on. The broadcloth incited mob put in appearance. We are the law said they. Thugs official and otherwise led a mob against the headquarters of the local. It was a safe venture, as all but two sick members were in jail by this time. The tent was set on fire, provisions stolen and the two members beaten up by the mob.

Reinforcements began to gather at other points and to head for Fresno. From Seattle, Portland and St. Louis detachments left for the scene of action. All by the box car special. The way was long and the hardships many, but that did not deter them. Two hundred strong they finally reached Sacramento, Cal., the capital of the state and two hundred miles from the goal. At last Fresno was to be shown. The taxpayers began to increase their howls. The governor began to see things. The brutality of their thugs had been of no avail. There was but one course left. To get out of the fight with

as good grace as they could, but to get out of it, grace or no grace. The city officials tried to save their face. They wanted to compromise. They did not want to have to admit defeat. But there was no alternative. The fighters stood firm and finally the citizens through a committee asked for terms. These were given to them and were accepted with the

best grace possible by the citizens' committee and the mayor and council.

Once more have the workers proven the efficacy of united working class action. Another victory for the militants of the labor movement of the United States—the third in a little over a year. Another step in the advance of the toilers to their own. May there be many more.

THE TIDE IS TURNING

BY

TOM J. LEWIS

THE strikes, lockouts, blacklists and injunctions and the growing use of the police in these struggles between Capital and Labor are demonstrating more than anything else the need of organization in the working class. Every day wage-workers are waking up to the fact that they need to fight **WITH** their comrades in these struggles instead of **AGAINST** them. Capitalism is doing a mighty work in helping us show the proletarians what they need. In this, Capitalism is sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

It is impossible to keep up with the developments of machinery. These developments are going forward by leaps and bounds. Almost every improvement eliminates the need of the skilled worker. The mechanic is being thrown into the ranks of the unskilled—the common laborer. This is having a very enlightening effect on the members of craft unions. Progress is not going to halt nor go back because of the howls of any craft unionist wailing for the Good Old Days, when the skilled worker got high wages and looked down upon his less fortunate brothers. The old-time skilled worker finds unskilled men taking his job. Boys no longer have to serve an apprenticeship in order to get a job. They are soon able to compete with the old-time skilled worker.

But the craft unionists are not going to lie down and wail. They are picking up their scattered ideas and beginning to adapt themselves to the new conditions. They are looking for a way out of the trouble, and they are finding that way. Things are beginning to look up for the wage-worker.

Evolution is a cold and indifferent helper, but Evolution is helping us a great

deal. It is going to be pretty tough for the working class until the great awakening comes, but now that men and women are asking questions and beginning to think and plan for themselves we will go forward to victory. They are learning to work for organization and an industrial society of equal opportunity for all, of economic independence.

It don't take a surgical operation to get the correct idea into a workingman's head about what the Capitalist Class use the police and the Courts and the Laws for. The Capitalist Class are showing us all plain enough. It saves us a whole lot of theoretical thinking on these questions to be in a strike, to be banged up by the police and slammed into jail for picketing. Empty stomachs tell us we want **MORE** and better **FOOD**. The cold weather stimulates our thinking apparatus and we don't need to be told that we want steam-heated flats. All these hard, and unpleasant facts that we workers run up against every day are the greatest eye-openers in the world. We are so busy thinking about porterhouse steaks that we don't have time to hunt up unimportant issues. We are right on the job for the main chance.

We know there are **TWO CLASSES** in society, no matter what the big books say. We know we are making things and the other fellow is grabbing them.

And we also know that we shall have to organize with our fellow workers, irrespective of race, creed, color or anything else into one big union of all the workers, and to seize every weapon—political and economic—to abolish wage-slavery. Our watchword is "One for All and All for One."

EDITORIAL

Barbarous Mexico and Capitalist America. As we go to press, Taft is concentrating a large part of the United States army on the Mexican border. This indicates that the revolt of the Mexicans against Diaz has become more serious than the capitalist press has generally admitted. It also tends to confirm the charge made by John Kenneth Turner in his book, "Barbarous Mexico," that the bloody despotism of Diaz is backed by American capitalists who use their government to help Diaz whenever necessary. This is not saying that Madero, who is in command of the largest forces of "insurrectos," is a revolutionist or would, if successful, abolish slavery in Mexico. On the contrary, the New York Call has published evidence that he has betrayed and disarmed revolutionists who would gladly have helped him against Diaz. Nevertheless, at the present moment whatever weakens Diaz will at least offer some hope of escape for the Mexican laborers now working under the lash for American capitalists. Conditions could scarcely become worse than now for the workers of Mexico, and if Taft sends American soldiers there, it may let in more or less light on the horrors of Mexican slavery. If American wage-workers could begin to realize the fearful tortures daily inflicted on their fellow workers in Mexico by the agents of American capitalists, there would be a storm of revolt that would end slavery in Mexico and in the United States together. For what the capitalists are doing to Mexican toilers they would do to Americans also, but for their greater power to resist. Only by organized resistance can we keep what little freedom and comfort we have, or add to them as the productiveness of our labor increases. Without a fighting organization, we should sink into the terrible slavery of the Mexican peons. United, we can put an end to slavery, in Mexico and at home.

The Eight Hour Work Day. We have already called attention to the widespread agitation for an eight hour work day started by the wage-workers of Port-

land, Oregon. The aim of the agitation is to prepare for a concentrated demand of an eight hour day by the wage-workers of the entire world on the second day of May, 1912. Unlike most "immediate demands," this one is revolutionary in its purpose and in its consequences if successful. The army of the unemployed is the chief instrument by which the capitalist is able to hold wages down to the bare cost of living. Were that army out of the way, the competition of capitalists for wage-workers to keep their machinery going would force wages up. Now a shorter work-day is not merely a relief to the body and brain of the over-worked laborer; it is also an important factor in the labor market. At any given stage in capitalist production, a given number of men cannot turn out so large a product in eight hours as in ten hours. If, therefore, the hours of labor are reduced, more men must be hired to turn out the same product. Thus the army of the unemployed is reduced, and in the ordinary operation of the law of supply and demand, wages will rise. A few years ago the union carpenters of Chicago had foresight enough to insist on an eight hour day and even accept a reduction of wages for the time being in order to carry their point. In a short time the demand for carpenters outran the supply so that they were enabled to claim and receive higher wages than ever before. Here is a proposition on which all wage-workers can unite. Let us start the propaganda with a rush on May-day, so that in a year the demand may be made with a unanimity that will compel the capitalists to concede it.

Democracy Through Decentralization. On another page is a brief and suggestive article by Nat L. Hardy, explaining how the Texas comrades have put an end to factional quarrels and entered upon a period of united work and steady growth. It was by taking authority away from the state central committee and making the state secretary an agent to carry out the will of the membership as expressed by referendum, and more important still, by putting most of the party's work into

the control of the county organizations. The success of the Socialist Party of Texas under its revised constitution is an example that the comrades of other states might well consider. Moreover, it leads up to a suggestion which, we believe, might be of untold value to our national organization. The annual dues paid to the national organization of the Socialist Party by each member amounts to 60 cents a year. At the beginning this was a reasonable amount. We started with about 10,000 members, and many states had to be organized. Now the work of organization is practically completed. The National Secretary, in his latest monthly bulletin, predicts that the membership will soon reach 100,000, so that the income of the national office from dues alone will probably reach \$60,000 this year. And what do we get for it? Very little. And probably the most valuable thing we do get is the services of organizers assigned by the national organization to work under the direction of state organizations. Now this is a clumsy, roundabout way of doing a necessary thing. Moreover, it opens the door to favoritism. We agree with the New York Call in holding the present national executive committee in no very high estimation. But we doubt the effectiveness of the Call's remedy, namely that we "elect competent men, recall the incompetent ones, and exert constant pressure through the local and state organizations." This is all very well, but it reminds us of the time-honored plea for the election of "good men to office." We are all considerably alike, after all, and it would be rather a difficult matter to select seven members who could be safely trusted to spend \$60,000 a year to the entire satisfaction of the membership.

Reduce the National Dues. That is the sensible and obvious solution of the whole question. The present system of dues stamps is an excellent one; let us not disturb it. But let us direct the National Secretary to sell the stamps to state secretaries at 2 cents each instead of 5 cents, thus reducing the annual contribution of each member to the national organization from 60 cents a year to 24 cents. Let each state organization decide for itself whether to reduce the price of stamps to the locals or keep them at the old figure and use the extra revenue for state organization work. But we believe the wisest plan will be to make the price of stamps to each local as low as possible, and let the locals make the dues high or low according to local conditions. These changes would probably raise the total membership of the party to at least 200,000 within a year, so that the income would be ample to carry on the work of the national organization, while the work of the local organizations would be immensely stimulated. Comrades, we move:

That Article XII, Section 6, of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party be amended so as to read:

The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to 2 cents for each member in good standing within their respective territories.

Also that Article X, Section 6 (providing for a percentage of dues to be set aside for railroad fare of delegates to conventions and congresses) be amended by striking out TEN and inserting TWENTY-FIVE.

If you agree with us, bring the matter up at the next meeting of your local, and start a referendum.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

England. The Labor Party's "Practical" Politics.—During the first week in February the Labor Party held a convention at Leicester. An account of what was done might lead one to think that the proceedings had no serious significance. The most important discussion raged round a revision of the party constitution recommended the party executive. One change aroused more interest than all the others. The old constitution said: "Candidates and members must *accept* this constitution." This has always been interpreted to mean that candidates of the Labor Party must sign a pledge to support the constitution. In the constitution submitted by the executive this sentence is made to read: "Candidates and members must *maintain* this constitution." A wayfaring man might think that there is little to choose between "accepting" and "maintaining" a constitution. Yet the choice of one rather than the other is what caused the excitement at the convention of the Labor Party.

And as a matter of fact this choice of a word was fraught with deep significance. By the selection of the wrong one the Labor Party sold out what little it had left of self-respect and independence.

In its decision in the Osborne case the Law Lords expressed the opinion that the signing of a pledge by candidates of the Labor Party is contrary to "public policy." The Osborne case, it will be remembered, was brought at the instance of a union man who objected to paying dues which would go to support the political activity of his union. The decision in this case took from the organizations of labor the right to use their funds for political purposes. The Labor Party, naturally, is fighting to have this decision reversed. This can be brought about most simply by having a new enabling act passed by parliament. One might think that the Labor members have done enough for the Liberals to get from them a promise to pass such an act. But such has not been the case. All that they have got has been a suggestion from Mr. As-

quith that the unions might be permitted to raise voluntary subscriptions for political purposes!

Now the convention of the Labor Party was naturally concerned about this matter. With great enthusiasm it directed the Labor group in the House of Commons to introduce a bill to annul the Osborne decision. In order to pave the way for such a bill, in order to escape the disapproval of the Lords, it decided to dispense with the pledges which its candidates have heretofore been required to sign. It was openly stated at the convention that these pledges have been lightly signed and lightly disregarded. But in order to show the Liberals that they have no crotchety notions about the class-struggle and to demonstrate to the Lords that they are disposed to obey the law, the members of the Labor Party convention voted to do away with the party pledge.

This is the secret of the excitement: "Accept this constitution" means sign a pledge to abide by it. "Maintain this constitution" means, nobody knows what. The convention accepted "maintain" by an overwhelming majority.

So this action at Leicester means that the shade of distinction which has hitherto separated the Labor Party from the Liberals has been reduced to the vanishing point. Candidates are to be supported politically and financially by the Labor Party and are to be responsible to nobody.

The leader in making the change was Mr. Ramsey Macdonald. In his speeches he affected to make great sport of theories and said much about the glories of practical policies. Apparently he voiced the feelings of the majority of delegates. It is a pleasure to record the fact that Keir Hardie fought manfully for the independence of Labor.

A "Socialistic" Government as Strike-breaker. The printers of London are winning their fight for an eight-hour day. The most interesting feature of their struggle is the part taken by the labor ex-

change established by the government under the administration of the Board of Trade. When the strike was at its height the master printers were surprised to receive from the labor exchange a circular letter offering to furnish all the printers required to meet any emergency.

It is to be hoped that the striking printers will appreciate the value of the Liberal Government to the working-class. It must be a great comfort to a workingman to know that as soon as he quits his job a thoughtful government is ready to furnish a substitute.

Striking Under a Labor Government.

—The teamsters of Adelaide, South Australia, chose an opportune time to strike. Three thousand of them went out in December, during the holiday rush. They asked 8 s. and a forty-eight hour week. The wage demand was certainly modest and the men themselves said that the heart of the movement was the demand for an eight-hour day. The demand for a forty-eight or a forty-four hour week is becoming popular with the workers of Australia. They say that every hour won for leisure is to the good, while a raise in wages is eaten up immediately by an advance in prices.

At first the tie-up was almost complete. Scabs were not to be had. Railway employees refused to handle parcels. Goods piled up on the wharves and in the factories. When the strike was over 8,000 tons of goods were waiting delivery on the wharves of Port Adelaide. Retail stores sent out boys with hand-carts, or told customers they would have to carry their own goods. Breweries and mills closed. The employees of other trades who were thrown out of work by the strike acted as pickets for the teamsters, even men carrying bundles on the streets were stopped by the pickets. The tramway employees were ready to go out when called. The Labor Premier himself predicted a general strike.

Then two forces began to act. Without came the pressure of police and military; within came the pressure on the unions to make exceptions and issue permits. Every policeman in Adelaide was on strike duty, and trying, ineffectually, to get passage for the few wagons that the employers tried to run. When the police failed to open traffic, the soldiers were

called in and coal-wagons surrounded by troopers made their way through the streets.

From the first the strikers had allowed deliveries to be made to the hospitals. Next they gave a permit to the Electric Co. to haul the coal needed to make power for the trams. Flour was delivered to union bakers. Finally individual firms signed up with the union and ran their wagons for awhile and then withdrew from the agreement. The permits confused the situation and every exception to the tie-up weakened the blockade.

But it seems to be politics that dealt the last blow. You will remember that Australia has a Labor Government. The Labor Party controls the state government of South Australia also. The Labor Prime Minister of South Australia himself said that there had been more strikes under the Labor Government than ever before. It was reported that if the teamsters' strike was not settled before New Year, the government would have to resign. The Adelaide Register called on the citizens to form armed bands to supersede the police. Labor officials were in a tight place. It is against the law to strike in Australia and the ministers declared that, as a government, they must uphold the law. On the other hand, the Labor Party knew where its votes came from. At first the request of the Employers' Association that the strikers be prosecuted was refused by the Labor Premier. Finally, however, the legal gentleman known as the Crown Solicitor advised the Premier that the acts of the union were criminal and the union should be prosecuted. The Labor Party simply let this decision be known, and then reminded the unionists that Australia provided a way of salvation for the discontented in the Industrial Court of Appeals. It was announced that the gates of salvation would be open on Dec. 21. The unionists appeared before the court on that date, agreed to hold a conference with the employers and as a result of the conference went back to work the next day. The question of wages was left to the Industrial Court. The employers agreed to some increase of wages, but the eight-hour day was lost.

The Attorney-General summed up the view of the Labor Party as follows:

"I hope in the future no trades union will resort to the clumsy wasteful, bad and ineffective method of strike for the purpose of solving industrial troubles." But the President of the Teamsters said: "The workers can expect nothing from Industrial Courts of Appeal."

France. Exit Briand.—Aristide Briand, Hero! Aristide Briand, Savior of Society! For months we have been hearing the praise of Briand. Every great daily in America has hailed Briand as the great man able to deal with the obstreporeous working-class.

And now Briand has fallen. On February 27th, the Chamber of Deputies gave his ministry a vote of confidence that really indicated a lack of confidence. The majority was small, so small that it was clear that M. Briand really lost the support of the Chamber of Deputies. So he resigned, and within a few days a new minister was at the head of the French government.

The new prime minister, M. Monis, seems to differ from his predecessor only in being a bit more cautious. So the fall of Briand has little significance. It does, however, bring to conclusion a chapter in the struggle of the French working-class against the French government.

Briand's policy was one of the ruthless suppression of the working-class and compromise, or worse, with the reactionary ecclesiastical power. In the first place he was supposed to represent the policy of rigid separation of church and state. It was thought that he could be depended upon to enforce the new law with regard to church property and the organization of the congregations. Of late, however, since he has felt the working-class turning against him, he has pursued a policy of conciliation—in relation to the law regulating the relations of church and state. He has been making friends with his bishops, and it is said, has received the support of the church in various selections. This has naturally made enemies of all those who wish to free the French republic from the influence of Rome.

But it was really his anti-labor policy

that killed Briand. The policy of the mailed fist has come too late. The strike of the railway workers was crushed. Not only that. We all know how Durand was persecuted and only pardoned when the whole public rose in protest. And the persecution is not yet over. A number of the striking railway workers are still in jail awaiting trial for rioting and destroying property. All that can be proved against them is that they addressed public meetings which were held for the purpose of calling attention to the condition of the railway employees. They made speeches; a strike occurred; property was destroyed: therefore these men are criminals. This is the reasoning of the French courts.

All of this is a part of the Briand policy. And the public has evidently got tired of it. At least the French working-class is evidently tired of radical politics. "Radicalism" is about played out. Briand in a peculiar sense has come to stand for "radicalism" in this, its latest form. So Briand had to fail.

Germany. The Death of Paul Singer.—Here in America as well as throughout Europe the passing of Comrade Paul Singer is mourned by the whole Socialist movement. Singer was no orator. He was not a great writer. He was not the discoverer of any new economic theory. But he was one of the greatest organizers the world's labor movement has ever known. To him more than to any other single person the German Social Democratic Party owes its perfect mechanism.

German Socialists will never forget that Paul Singer came into their movement in 1878 when the anti-socialist law went into effect. At the moment when all the half-hearted reformers were scurrying to cover Paul Singer, a man of wealth and influence, saw that the only salvation for society lay in the power of the working-class. He had the courage to join the Socialist movement in those eventful days. And from that time down to the day of his death he devoted his wealth and all the strength of his powerful personality to the work of building up the Socialist movement. A great man has passed away, but he has left a great work behind him.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

THE resignation of John Mitchell from the National Civic Federation the first of the month spells war in the United Mine Workers, the largest labor organization in the country, with upward of 310,000 members. There has been an internal contest on between the Mitchell and Lewis factions for several years, but that has been a gentle June zephyr compared to the tornado that will rage from now on until the next convention meets, nine months hence.

There is no doubt that Mitchell and his friends will demand vindication and attempt to reverse the decree of the Columbus convention forbidding members to join the Civic Federation. In the United Mine Workers the convention's action is final and no referendum vote is provided for to approve or reject constitutional provisions. Consequently the Mitchell followers and the opposition may be expected to work like beavers to secure friendly delegates and dominate the coming Indianapolis gathering.

While Mitchell's resignation from the C. F. undoubtedly was a popular move, the announcement of Lewis, his powerful rival, that he would go back to the mines instead of selling the knowledge that he had gained in the labor movement to the operators or the Civic Federation, was also a fine master stroke, for within the memory of man virtually every prominent official in the big union has either gone over to the employers to serve as a sort of "labor commissioner" or took to playing old party politics.

Of course, Lewis' back-to-the-mines declaration was greeted with derision by his opponents, who pronounce it a performance for the galleries, a four-flush, etc., which causes the former to hurl another bomb by threatening to write a book. But instead of making Mitchell turn pale and cry for mercy, this latest proclamation from the Lewis camp will probably be received with shouts of joy, for be it known to all men that the doughty John once amused this merry old world as an author. The keynote of his

book was that the great mass of the workers have made up their minds that they must be hewers of wood and drawers of water always, and about the only thing they could hope for was to convert the profit-grabbers into kind masters who would enter into trade agreements and condescend to let them work or hunt for jobs owned by the master class.

As nobody accused John of being radical, he became the beau ideal of the conservative element in the labor movement to such an extent that Sam Gompers became envious and also thrust himself upon an unsuspecting public in a volume, which, along with Mitchell's and several millions of other ebullitions of budding authors, are gathering dust on book shelves or storerooms.

Now the question arises, Is Lewis going to thresh over old straw and write about something that nobody reads, or will he send a ray of hope of emancipation into the miserable and monotonous mining shacks of the country—into the bowels of the hillside and in the valleys, where dwell the men, women and children, who, as they toil and drudge in producing wealth, secure a glimpse through the "muck raking" magazines, or even their boiler-plate country papers, of the riotous and extravagant debaucheries of the Civic Federation class who ride upon the backs of the workers?

Let me jot it down right now that heretofore, as regards the fundamental viewpoint of working class justice, viz.: to the workers belong the full product of their toil, I never saw or heard much contention between Mitchell and Lewis. Both sidestep that principle—you can't drag them into debate on the subject with a team of oxen. Either they seem to fear to arouse the enmity of their capitalistic friends or are too dense to handle the subject.

Therefore, to a man up a tree it appears as though there isn't much choice in this personal combat between the two factional leaders (so called). The Socialist element during the past two years con-

trolled the balance of power. They helped elect Lewis and defeat him and helped to drive Mitchell out of the Civic Federation. They did exactly the right thing, for both Lewis and Mitchell, while boasting of enjoying the friendship of Socialists, were always found voting against them in Federation conventions, thanks to the clever manipulations of the powers that be.

During the past two or three years the tide has been running strongly for Socialism in the mining districts in the United States and Canada. That I know from personal observation; that we know from the vote cast in political campaigns, from the gains in Socialist locals, and from the increasing demand for Socialist literature. This growth is bound to continue, and men are naturally being forced to the front who know more about economics than Mitchell and Lewis ever dreamed of, and unless the latter accept new ideas they will be dumped overboard as were the McBrides and Ratchfords. The world doesn't stand still. Let the Socialists stand by their convictions and pronounce a plague on both their houses.

WHATEVER the outcome of the referendum election in the Cigarmakers' International Union may be (at this writing both sides are claiming victory and the official count will not be announced until about the time the REVIEW is being printed), the "insurgents," as the anti-administration forces are termed in the campaign, gained a signal victory in cutting down the great majorities that the old regime received at the previous election to a point where it required the official count to decide the result.

The Civic Federation was the principal issue before the membership, and the insurgents carried, with few exceptions, every large city in the country—the centers of industry in which the workers are most sternly confronted by organized and aggressive capitalism—while the smaller unions, where the "buckeyes" operated by journeymen who supply the local market with smokes, supported the administration pretty generally.

A good-sized book could be written detailing the progress of the Cigarmakers' International Union and the many problems

that confront that organization, which is one of the best in the country. Proportionately there are probably more radicals among the cigarmakers than in nine out of ten trade organizations, large and small, and the wonder is that such conservatives as Gompers have been kept at the front constantly representing men who are being harder hit by centralized capitalism than most trades.

For some years the American Tobacco Company and its various offsets, notably the United States Cigar Stores Company, have fought the union factories most unmercifully; women and child workers by the tens of thousands are being exploited by the anti-union capitalists; convict contract laborers in many penal institutions are pitted in competition against the union workers, and, finally, the government itself has been enlisted in the unholy cause to break down the union standard of living by permitting the importation of millions of cigars produced by half-naked Filipinos at a few cents a day.

While I write the *Cigarmakers' Journal*, official organ edited by President Perkins, comes along and says editorially that the Tampa cigar manufacturers and manufactures in other places "are agitating the proposition to start trade schools for teaching cigar making." This sounds funny to President Perkins, who says that "the trust and the United Cigar Manufacturing Company run huge kindergarten shops" and employ vast numbers of girls under the bunch-breaking and roll-up system.

Singular as it may seem, Perkins and Gompers have no patience with anyone who comes forward with a thought of marshaling the workers on strictly class-conscious political lines to make a fight to end this sort of thing. Nobody knows much of anything except these great leaders, who alternately bump their heads against the stone wall of capitalism or hide them in the sand like ostriches. But for the splendid beneficial system and the widespread advertising campaign that is pursued by the cigarmakers, all of which represents magnificent sacrifices on the part of the rank and file, radicals and conservatives alike, the international union would be in little better condition than the iron and steel workers.

No one can predict just how long this

intensified struggle between the manufacturers who employ unionists at decent wages and hours and the American tobacco trust and its subsidiaries and their cheap labor will continue on the competitive field—and, you know, “competition is the life of trade.” Daniel De Leon predicted the downfall of the international union a score of years ago, but he was wrong, for, despite all of his supposed learning, he doesn’t seem to understand the class interests or instincts of the workers.

The cigarmakers, like all other organized trades, will fight out these questions inside of their unions, no matter how many splits and secessions may be encouraged by impatient folk or alleged intellectuals, who may fancy that they can jump into the co-operative commonwealth week after next. (I wish we could, but we can’t, for there are too many workers in the country who know nothing about the real mission of the labor movement.)

THE next important struggle in which the Civic Federation will be an issue is that imminent in the International Association of Machinists. James O’Connell, president of the I. A. of M. and a member of the C. F., is being opposed by William Johnston, chairman of the legislative committee at Washington, and Charles Bank, of Toledo, O., who is heading a movement to industrialize the metal trades. John-

ston will prove a most formidable candidate for O’Connell, not only because the latter has become identified with the “Militia of Christ,” a religious organization that has been started to smash Socialism in the organized labor field, but for the reason that Johnston has had exceptionally good success in pushing through congress a measure that will guarantee the eight-hour day to some 23,000 machinists employed on government work.

IN the March number of the *American Federationist* Sam Gompers makes an effort to defend the Civic Federation, which has become an issue in the labor field. In a nutshell, the whole article is an apology and a typically cumbersome attempt to connect the Socialists and the open shoppers. Yet Gompers hobnobs with the Carnegies, Belmonts, Fricks, Markses, Perkinses, Schwabs and their ilk.

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LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

Road-Town. By Edgar Chambless. New York; Roadtown Press, 150 Nassau Street. Price \$1.35.

The idea underlying this book is that the most intelligent way to build a city is along a line of railroad track extending a hundred or a thousand miles through the county, making one continuous house, with light and air on each side, a railroad underneath and a boulevard on the roof. The author makes out a good case for the scheme from an economic point of view, but it seems to us that he makes a fatal mistake in urging that it be carried out by co-operative associations of little capitalists. The big capitalists are the only ones who could handle such a scheme effectively. If they were to build "Road-Town," they could give their tenants better quarters and better transportation service than the same money will buy now, and still make immense profits until this system of building becomes general, when rents (and wages) would fall. One of the best things about this new idea is that if the big capitalists take it up, as they probably will, the number of homeowners will be still further reduced. Homeowners, like other property-holders, usually think a great deal about their property and very little about the common interests of the working class, themselves included. So the sooner the big capitalists strip them of their little possessions, the better it will be for the working class, since one more obstacle will be out of its way.

Individualism. Four Lectures on the Significance of Consciousness for Social Relations. By Warner Fite, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Indiana University. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, \$1.80 net.

An extremely scholastic work upon which brief comment will suffice. The author occasionally punctures the moral reflections of reformers in a clever fashion. On the other hand, when he comes to speak of socialism, he is evidently one of those friends who is more to be feared than an enemy. To him, socialism "stands simply for a comprehensive organization of society," and

elsewhere he speaks of "the socialistic doctrine that the best government governs everything." We make this criticism with no bitterness against the genial professor, but with regret that many self-styled socialists talk and write in a way to spread just such misapprehensions. To him and them alike we commend a course of reading in Frederick Engels, who better than any other writer has put into words the real instincts and desires of the organized working class regarding government. We recognize that the governments of civilized states today are and must be the managing committees of the capitalist class to coerce and oppress the working class. We seek control of these governments for the sake of abolishing them as governments and at the same time abolishing the capitalists as capitalists. The state under working class control will not govern persons, it will enable each individual through his share of co-operative labor to provide himself with the necessities and comforts of life, and it will leave the individual free to regulate his own morals. And it may be confidently predicted that the morals resulting from this change will be infinitely better measured in their effect on human happiness than the morals of today.

What Diantha Did. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. New York: The Charlton Co., 67 Wall St. Price \$1.00 net.

This is Mrs. Gilman's first novel and will prove a surprise to those who know her only through her sociological writings. In a brisk and readable story, she here presents the adventures of an engaging young heroine, who attempts to carry out modern theories on the solution of the housekeeping problem. Diantha's story is the story of the struggle many women make to-day when they insist upon having a life work of their own outside of the kitchen or the home. The tale abounds in action, color, humor, atmosphere and keen characterization. Moreover, it contains carefully worked out facts and figures for the guidance of other Dianthas disposed to embark on similar enterprises.

The Poems of Max Ehrmann. New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 220 E. 23d St. Price \$1.50.

One of the most delightful volumes we have had the pleasure of reviewing in many months. The best of Mr. Ehrmann's poems are pervaded with subtle suggestion that stimulates the reader more than rugged or perhaps stronger verses. There are charming songs that bring lasting pleasure in the beauty of their form and rhythm. But it is as a mental stimulant that the book excels. We find ourselves going over a line or a verse, following Mr. Ehrmann through a new field of thought, or over strange paths to odd thought in surprising and delightful manner. The Book of Rebellion is both virile and tender. Thou That Art Idle Born is a song among songs!

The Chasm, by George Cram Cook. Frederick A. Stokes Company, 443 Fourth avenue, New York. Cloth, \$1.25 net.

The Socialist novel has generally proven a failure because of the expedients each writer has adopted to reach his readers. These have invariably been long speeches declaimed by impossible persons and a plot that seemed forced rather than real. Those who have not been guilty of this have had to transport their readers to a distant future, like Edward Bellamy, and have them "look back" to the civilization of today, pointing out its defects and contrasting them with the "New Jerusalem." The result, while not lacking in interest, has been far from satisfactory.

It is with relief, therefore, that we lay down Mr. George Cram Cook's "The Chasm," conscious that this powerful story of love and the all-pervading class war of today grips the reader with its clear philosophy, its tense situations, its glorified love and the realism of the social chasm that yawns between the world's economic masters and those in the social pit. And all this is developed out of situations that are natural in their sequence and without resort to speeches delivered by impossible people. Socialists will recognize in Walter Bradfield, with his general culture and knowledge of modern science, a proletarian who is now a type in any city where Socialism is strong. Marion Moulton, the manufacturer's daughter, though not a type, is real. The chasm—the class struggle—is vital and

dominant, the scenes being enacted in parvenue America and Czar-cursed Russia. The story is shot through with the revolutionary ideals that dominate the lives of millions and one which the reader will feel reluctant to lay aside until finished. Price \$1.38 postpaid. Frederick Stokes Co., are REVIEW advertisers. Mention the REVIEW when ordering this book.

Never-Told Tales. By Dr. Wm. J. Robinson. New York: The Altrurians, 12 Mt. Morris Park, W., New York. Price \$1.00, postpaid.

A book of strong stories showing the terrible results that obtain through the provincial attitude of men and women toward the sex question and venereal diseases. The world today is full of ignorant people who refuse to discuss these subjects with their sons and daughters with the result that thousands of young men and women become hopeless physical wrecks. Sores are never healed through neglect. Covering them does not cure them. Only by open and intelligent discussion, as well as by scientific study can society hope to conquer venereal diseases. Knowledge will then aid prevention and science will intelligently work toward permanent cures. False modesty should be thrown aside and FOR THEIR OWN PROTECTION young men and women should be advised to read this book.

Socialism and Success. By W. J. Ghent. New York: John Lane Company. Price \$1.25.

A book of essays. The burden of the Essay on Success is the song of the socialist philosophy "to seek the success of one in the success of all," or, in the language of socialism, to abolish classes and exploitation and provide equal opportunity for all who work. To THE REFORMERS, explains why reform cannot help the working class; pointing to revolution alone to save it. TO SOME SOCIALISTS, a criticism which we of the Impossible Bent may well take to heart. Our enemy is Capitalism and we will have our hands full destroying it. Nothing else is very important. Sometimes we forget this and waste time on friends who do not agree with us on matters of tactics. To the Retainers, is a plea to the servants of Capitalism, whom we shall probably be unable to convert till they have lost their jobs; To Mr. John Smith, Workingman, is a chapter devoted entirely to the

wage-worker, and inspires in us the wish that all socialist writers would begin in, remain in and never leave—this proletarian field.

Anti-Matrimony. A Satirical Comedy. By Percy MacKaye. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 443 Fourth Ave. Price \$1.35.

This is in the first place a thoroughly bright and enjoyable comedy, but it is a good deal more than this. It is a keen, logical satire on some of the absurdities of the modern drama of Continental Europe in its relation to the marriage question. The fatal weakness of this school of dramatic writers is that it overlooks the economic reasons that established the institution of marriage and the other economic reasons that still make it desirable to the people who live in it.

The Man-Made World, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, published by the Charles Company, 67 Wall street, New York.

Many books have been written about women by men. This is a book about men by a woman. It analyzes their essential traits and characteristics as males, and points out the effects that an exclusively masculine domination has had upon every department of human life. Without passion or prejudice, but with relentless logic and apt illustration, Mrs. Gilman traces to this condition many of the most crying evils of modern life, and indicates specifically in just what respects the participation of women in all branches of human work will operate for the improvement of the world.

IN my review of John Kenneth Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," I called attention to the fact that the public libraries of the United States are being stocked with at least two books on Mexico that were inspired by President Diaz. It seems that there is a conspiracy on foot to load these institutions with books that will glorify this tottering savage and the slave pen he presides over. This view is further confirmed by the appearance of another book of this kind, this time from the pen of James Creelman, a literary hack of some note. It is entitled "Diaz, Master of Mexico." Creelman's book was largely dictated by Diaz, for Creelman

is a friend of the Mexican savage, paid a long visit to him in the Mexican capitol, and had access to information furnished by Diaz himself.

In the last chapter of his book Creelman defends Diaz against the charges of slavery, denies that the Yaquis have been enslaved, and denounces the criticism launched against Diaz and his hangmen. This book, too, will go into the libraries. It with the other two mentioned will do deadly work against the revolution. I therefore want to repeat my advice given before: If your local makes no other expenditure this month, see that your minutes contain the following entry: "*Ordered that one copy of Turner's 'Barbarous Mexico' be placed in the public library, cost to be borne by the local.*" This will be a big contribution towards the Mexican revolt and will aid in counteracting the sinister influences that would use the public library to wring sweat and blood from Mexican slaves.

James Oneal.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

COMRADE HAYWOOD received a great ovation when he appeared on the platform of New Turner Hall, in Detroit. Over 1,000 people were packed into the hall and the 'Big Fellow' kept them interested every minute. In speaking of the Class Struggle, he at once demonstrated that he was not merely a doctrinaire and had learned the class struggle from reading Marx, but that he had lived the class struggle and was still living it in a very strenuous manner. He was entirely free from the prevailing type of 'school oratory' and spoke in the language of the proletarian. Every man and woman in the vast audience understood both the man and his message. The meeting in Detroit will long be remembered as one of the greatest and most instructive meetings ever held within its limits."

Comrade McVey writes from Haverhill, Mass.: "Haywood took well here. The audience felt at home and were keenly interested in every word he said. You will hear from THEM in your Circulation Department of the Review." Enthusiastic reports are coming in from every point where Haywood has held a meeting. Dates already arranged for in March, April and May are as follows:

Pittsburg, 18th; Pottsville, 19th; Scranton, 22nd; Altoona, 23rd; Piqua, Ohio, 26th; Muscatine, Ia., 28th; Rock Island, Ill., 30th. April: Warren, April 2nd; Rochester, 6th; E. Liverpool, 9th; Belaire, 16th; Zanesville, 18th; Elyria, 24th; Lima, 25th; Grand Rapids, Mich., 26th; Cadillac, 27th; St. Louis, Mo., April 30th; Kansas City, St. Joseph, Springfield, Joplin, and other points have requested dates. Following these we hope to route him through the Northwest to the Coast.

All locals wanting dates in Nebraska, the Dakotas, Kansas, Iowa and still further West, write us at once so that we may include you in Haywood's Western route.

Requests for Frank Bohn dates are coming in steadily. Comrade Bohn will be in Pennsylvania during the latter part of March and in Ohio in April. There are several good dates open for April in

Ohio. Comrades wanting a Bohn date during that month wire us for information.

For the benefit of those who do not know our terms for Haywood and Bohn Lectures, we ask Locals to guarantee to take 500 admission tickets at 25 cents for the Haywood and 200 to the Bohn lecture. Each admission ticket is good for a three-month Review subscription. We pay \$25 hall rent for Haywood meetings, and donate 200 copies of the Review to each meeting for benefit of the local. Also we donate 100 copies of the Review to every Bohn meeting.

Indiana Locals wanting Bohn dates for the latter part of April, write us promptly.

Shall We Abolish the National Executive Committee.—If the Socialist Party is an organization of the working class for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, its business will have to be conducted by the membership, and not by a few men. It is true that we can recall party officials if they don't do things to suit us, but what good does that do when we put others in their places, and allow them the same authority possessed by those who were recalled.

Most of our petty narrow pated quarrels could be avoided if the business of the national office was directed by the national committee.

The worst curse the working class have is "leaders" who direct their affairs (or try to), and still we Socialists have not learned enough to know that we will have to get past the "leaders" stage before we can strike a telling blow against Capitalism.

Why not abolish the National Executive committee and put that \$1,352.00 a year into propaganda instead of car fare? Yours for Socialism, E. W. Latchens, Coffeyville, Kans.

The Arbeiter Turner-Bund der Word-Oft-Staaten of Elmhurst, New York, decided the new name of the organization shall be "Workman's Gymnastic Alliance of the United States of America." The next Bunder-Festival will be held on August 20, 1911, in H. Ohlenschlager's Park in Elmhurst, N. Y. The next Bunder meeting will take place in January, 1912, in Hoboken, N. J. Any gymnastic society declaring itself in favor of the principles of Socialism is requested to correspond with Paul C. Wolf, secretary, Elmhurst, N. Y., 33 Harrison Place.

Butte Labor Council refuses to allow the workmen to be bled to build a tabernacle. The Butte Ministerial Association arranged

to import a sky-pilot to revive the lagging interest in the churches here. They planned erecting a tabernacle in which he was to hold forth. In order to get the work done for nothing, they sent a committee to the Trades and Labor Council asking them to suspend their rule and to allow the mechanics and carpenters to DONATE their services. The following is the reply of the Council in brief:

"We, the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, in regular session assembled, have adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, We, as a body, are opposed to sensational vaudeville methods of religious propaganda, with its attendant spasmodic, theological nightmares—so hopelessly out of tune with the spirit of the time.

"And, whereas, Among organized labor are represented all shades of religious belief, as well as agnostics and independent thinkers, who are strongly opposed to all efforts to revive obsolete creeds and dogmas that have outlived their usefulness;

And, whereas, The primary object of organized labor is to secure economic justice for the workers and to promote the advent of a just, equitable and scientific industrial system and believing that violent disturbances of the mental equilibrium, resulting from emotionalism, running wild, are not conducive to the realization of our aims and objects;

"And, whereas, We believe that donations of any character made by unions, as a body, to the promoters of the enterprise in question, would be inimical to our policy of co-operation along well defined lines, and would have a tendency to disturb the sentiments of mutuality and harmony, now prevailing among the local organizations.

"Be it therefore resolved, That it is the sentiment of this body that all affiliated unions should refrain from compromising their organizations by voting any funds or authorizing suspension or abrogation of rules or regulations, in connection with the building of the proposed 'tabernacle' or any similar project—individual members, of course, being at liberty to donate as freely as they may feel justified in doing—at a time when the army of the unemployed numbers millions and multitudes of willing wealth-producers ordinarily go hungry to bed."

Freedom. A new monthly journal; published at 789 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal.; 10 cents a copy; \$1.00 a year. An attractive magazine devoted to the destruction of superstition and the uplift of the Under Dog. It is a sparkling periodical, brilliant, satirical and filled with hot shots against parasites and ghosts.

Wants a Daily Review. Comrade A. H. Shewry, of California, writes: "Enclosed find money for bundle of February REVIEWS. I wish they came daily. I would not be without the REVIEW even if I had to miss some of my three meals a day to get the price."

Socialists to the Front in Muscatine.—The Muscatine, Iowa, Journal, reports the recent election as follows:

Far overshadowing all other features of yesterday's city election, the most sensational and closely contested in the city's history, was the wonderful strides made throughout the city by the Socialist party, and the election of the Socialist candidate for alderman in the Third and Fourth wards by overwhelming majorities.

Second in importance was the neck-and-neck race for the recorder's office, with T. H. Brannan, Republican, leading his Democratic opponent, Gustav Weis, by five votes, and the Socialist candidate, F. F. Schoenig, a good third, only 89 votes behind.

The very close vote cast for the candidates of the three parties for some of the offices lent an added interest to the fact that in yesterday's election the voters of Muscatine were called upon for the first time to select the subordinate officers of the city by ballot.

The Socialist gains filled the hearts of the members of that party with a great joy, which was expressed in the early morning parade through the streets of the city. The Socialists scored with the unprecedented feat of electing two aldermen, the first members of their party to be elected to office in Muscatine. Every Socialist candidate carried the Third and Fourth wards, though the majorities of the subordinate officers were materially less than those of the aldermanic candidates, who in both instances polled a greater vote than the combined votes of their opponents.

The Socialistic gains are generally credited to the present local labor situation, several of the candidates of that party being prominent in the councils of the Button Workers' Union. While it is on all hands admitted that the votes cast yesterday for the Socialist candidates by no means is indicative of its actual strength, it is certain that in future elections the two older parties will have to reckon, and that mightily, with this comparatively new political organization.

Comrade Lang of Muscatine writes: The newspaper report is nearly correct. We made tremendous gains and we are going to make the Haywood meeting, on March 28th, the greatest celebration we have had in years. The Socialists in Muscatine have been working during the strike there and they have accomplished wonderful results. Evidently they do not propose to have the Capitalists hold The Big Stick much longer. Just as we go to press another letter from Comrade Lang brings the news that at a school election March 13th, the Socialists elected both of their candidates, polling 924 votes out of a total of 1,784.

The Convention of the United Mine Workers. On January 17th, men from every part of America were sent hastening toward Memorial Hall, Columbus, Ohio. This hall has been dedicated to the U. S. Army and Navy, but on this day the doors were thrown ajar

to admit the soldiers of the industrial army of mining. Every nationality was represented. No color lines were drawn. As the eleven hundred men took their seats and were called to order by President Lewis, the thinking men of America were asking "what will they do?"

President Lewis recognized that in this convention he would meet not only his former enemies, who sought to retire him to private life, but another power. This is the power that makes no war on individuals nor lines up with factions but stands for principles. The men that make it are known as Revolutionary Industrial Unionists. They stand for the Marxian system of economics and no compromise. These men had fought for years within and without the ranks and they were now ready for a battle to determine whether the U. M. W. of A. should retrograde or advance.

The recent convention of the A. F. of L. refused to admit the Western Federation of Miners. Here the sentiment was that this organization, with historic battles to its credit—Leadville, Cripple Creek, Telluride and Goldfield, should be admitted to the A. F. of L. There were voted in and this means there will be many jobless fighters in the amalgamation.

These men radiate life and energy and are breathing and speaking words of the class struggle. On their banner is inscribed "To the worker belongs the full product of his toil" and their ultimate goal is the industrial republic.

The great convention began its work. Resolutions were read from every state in the union. We heard from the battle-fields of Irwin, Tuscarawas Valley, Colorado and Nova Scotia. Everywhere the Capitalist Government is in battle array against the mine workers. Mine workers are being clubbed, shot and evicted.

Heretofore, the Civic Federation, in our conventions, has been a plaything. Now it was the vital question of the hour. The battle waged for almost a day and men unknown in the labor movement, threw their strength to sever themselves from this monster. Germer, Hefferle and Williams, of Illinois; Huston, of Indiana; Savage, of Ohio; Charles Gildea, of Pennsylvania; Michelberry and McCullough, of Michigan, all stood firm against the Civic Federation. J. W. Carroll, of West Virginia, stood

firm and put the question from a class stand point.

The vote stood 1,213 against and 967 for. Men who had never heard about "the class struggle" voted on the right side when this question came up.

In every mining camp the craft union idea lies bleeding beside the sacred contract and trade agreement. Tom Lewis says the A. F. of L. is a joke. We think it is a tragedy. There are still members of the Civic Federation in Gomper's cabinet who think the A. F. of L. is the labor movement. Presidents make the same claim. Adolph Germer, of Illinois, was the one Illinois official that made a clean fight.

Germer will still have to battle with the U. M. W. who have industrial unions, but check-off systems, contracts, fines and where one part of the industry is warring on another part, due to unequal wages and the craft union idea.

There is sometimes not a vast difference between a craft union and an industrial union, save in name and form. Both sometimes stand for nothing more revolutionary than a higher price for the sale of labor-power as a commodity. Abolition of wage slavery is not mentioned. This kind of an industrial union is a negation and will be short lived. At the present time leaders are calling for a referendum vote. And as John Mitchell fell, so will future labor-leaders fall. The day of leaders is passing. Wage slaves from the mines challenge Civic Federation leaders to debate.

Meet Gildea and W. H. Thomas of Pennsylvania, J. W. Carroll of West Virginia, Huston of Indiana, Miculberry and McCullough of Michigan, or Koch, Germer, Hefferle, Williams, John Francis and Tom McDonald of Illinois, men from the pick and big box, and tell them, Mr. Mitchell, how Carnegie can be a friend of labor when he compensates slaves at 13 cents per hour. Tell us why he dealt the blow to the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers? Why your brother, Prof. Elliott, says a stab is a hero? Tell us why, when asked to solve the problem of the Unemployed, President Taft replied "God knows." We ask you, Mr. Mitchell, why Mr. Taft throws the burden of this solution upon God?

The convention passed a Preston-Smith resolution. These men are in the Nevada penitentiary, suffering for defending their class interests. The whole working class

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should arise and demand their release. We should keep up protest meetings.

With 85 per cent of the miners in Colorado UNORGANIZED, 50,000 in Pennsylvania unorganized, with Alabama, once organized, now without organization, with West Virginia unorganized—does not this show clearly that craft unionism which has spent millions of dollars trying to organize these men—is a miserable failure?

The coal miner is going to use another instrument. To fight highly developed capital, he will have a highly developed class organization. As we see the breaking up of old institutions, we must recognize the economic question in its full significance.

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John McBride read a review of the early miners' organization, from the Knights of Labor down. There is nothing constant in ideas and institutions. As he showed, these change and pass away. So with the U. M. W. as today organized. A real bona fide union of the working class will rise to take its place. The preamble is already a matter of record in the proceedings of this convention. It stands as a beacon and an inspiration to the world's

workers that the time has arrived when we not only TALK but DO.—Philip L. Beal, Delegate from Labor Union No. 2708, Belleville, Ill.

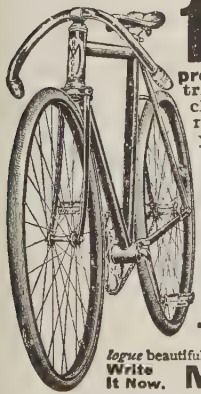
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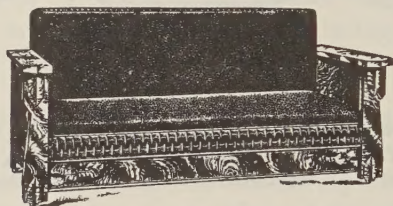


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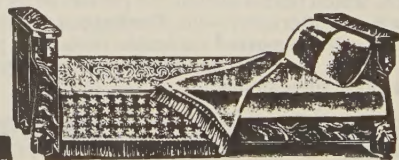
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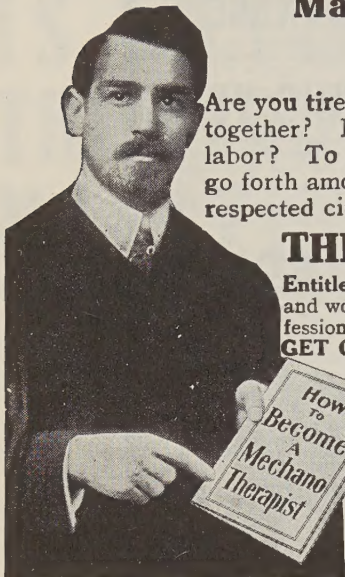
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